

**The Iconography**  
**of**  
**Ancient Greek and Roman Jewellery**  
by  
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**Author's Declaration**

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## Abstract

This work will examine the various forms of symbolism and iconography in jewellery from ancient Greece<sup>1</sup> and Rome. It sets out to elucidate and place into the appropriate cultural context the motifs represented in jewellery from these civilisations. The work is largely divided into three parts.

The first part, itself divided into sections dedicated to Greece (with Etruria as an afterthought) and Rome respectively, discusses the symbolism and iconography by introducing the most important deities and making the connection between them and the motifs occurring in jewellery. Naturally, a selection had to be made regarding the motifs: although the aim is to give a fairly broad overview and include more than just the most standard motifs, the examination cannot, for obvious reasons, extend to designs only singularly occurring in jewellery. It follows that the list of motifs discussed is by no means exhaustive yet some rarely ever examined motifs such as the tortoise, for example, are given space for consideration.

The second part applies the above to a selection of extant jewellery. Each plate is critically described to draw together some of the conclusions of the first part in practical terms and to point at parallels if applicable.

In the third part, some new interpretations are considered. Deriving largely from the findings of the first part, the identity of some motifs in particular can be newly identified (for example certain pomegranate or fennel seed pendants), while some jewels are looked at with a fresh interpretation.

The comparatively uneven length between Greece and Etruria on the one hand and Rome on the other hand throughout the work can be explained by the nature of the evidence and by its relevance: Greek jewellery is highly naturalistic and consists mostly of part-representations of plants, animal and gods. The result is a large vocabulary of symbolism, which, as will be shown, can be traced back to a single or various deities. Etruscan jewellery, however, is more abstract and rich in stylised shapes and forms; at the same time, Etruscan goldsmiths placed much more emphasis on the decoration of (gold) surfaces, resulting in often globular or convex forms with intricate goldwork such as granulation. However, the Etruscans were of course in contact (and influenced) by the Greeks, so that some motifs overlap with those of Greece. Therefore, only Etruria-specific motifs, such as the *bullā*, or those more

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<sup>1</sup> The jewellery of Etruria is considered to a limited extent in this chapter.

typical for Etruria than Greece, such as the Achelous head are discussed separately in an appendix to the Greek section. The jewellery of Rome, on the other hand, focuses on polychrome, simple designs, which are comparatively crude in execution. The fashion for colourful, expensive materials combined with a growing superstition and a need to express status and wealth mean that Roman jewellery is essentially about the amuletic purpose, gem materials and its use as status symbols. It is therefore necessary not only to consider motifs but also jewellery types as well as a selection of the most important gem materials.

*Note on the amended version (November 2007)*

As has been agreed with the examiners, the civilisation of Egypt has been removed, that of Etruria has been incorporated in the Greek section, and the original number of thirty-two plates increased to 102. However, due to the number of plates, the necessity of captions and the advantages of the image-processing programme used, the present organisation was deemed more user-friendly than the suggested incorporation in the text: as it is, the plates are arranged in numerical order together with their captions in sets of six per page at the end of the work. Again, all plates are reproduced in colour except for two plates where no colour image was available.

The request for more in-depth consideration of the plates necessitated the addition of the second part. The third part summarises new interpretations already addressed in the first and second parts. More specific changes include the moving of Achelous from Greece to Etruria (although a Greek god, Achelous was comparatively more popular in Etruscan than in Greek jewellery); the addition of the sphinx as a protective motif; separate sections dealing with amphorae and astragals; the addition of the beech tree, and the addition of palmette, rosette, lotus, oak, beech and laurel to the contents page; the addition of the evil eye (*malocchio*) and cameo jewellery to the Roman section; the rearrangement of the bibliography; the replacement of the appendices with a reference short list to gods and their attributes. The abstract, general introduction, introductions to the individual sections and the conclusion have all been worked over to substantiate and accord to the amended format.

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## Introduction

Many books – and countless introductions – have been written about ancient jewellery, covering its techniques, styles and history. None of these sources, however, provides an insight into the iconography and symbolism of these jewels to any considerable degree.

Nowadays jewellery usually has the purpose of decoration, often of status, and sometimes it serves as an amulet – depending, of course, on the type of jewellery and of the particular cultural environment. In fact, 'courtship practices involving the adornment of females [and] systems of symbolic body ornament generally' are regarded as 'cross-cultural universals': practices and customs found in all human societies at all times.<sup>2</sup> In principle, then, nothing has changed between now and two or three millennia past.

In the case of ancient jewellery, however, we must remember that to ancient peoples mythology and religious symbolism were much more present in their daily life than in ours nowadays; this is not only evident in their frequent use of metaphors in literature.

Most recently, Jack Ogden, an eminent jewellery historian, poignantly summarised the problem of the jeweller (indeed any art) historian when musing that

Applying modern thought to old jewellery brings us to a more obvious paradox. Can we admire something from the past, using modern aesthetic criteria, without inherently misunderstanding it? The more we have to turn to our twenty-first century repertoire of comparisons and concepts, the more we divorce ourselves from the context in which the jewellery was produced and used. It is almost impossible to judge art from the past within its own cultural context, without drawing on modern experience and taste. Inspiration, for example, is a convenient modern artistic term leavened by some hint of spiritual intervention, but is the word 'inspiration' a meaningful concept in any sort of ancient artistic context? Was a gold myrtle design on a Greek gold wreath inspired by a myrtle, or dictated by whatever the myrtle then symbolised?<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Robin Fox, an anthropologist, cited in Kate Fox, *Watching the English: The Hidden Rules of English Behaviour* (London 2004), 11.

<sup>3</sup> Ogden, *Jewellery*, iii.

As will be seen, ancient jewellery is neither simply decorative nor only concerned about status, nor purely serving as an amulet.<sup>4</sup>

Ancient civilisations tended to put greater emphasis on the amuletic purpose than modern occidental societies do: this is particularly the case with Etruria and, even more so, Rome.

Ancient jewellery has a much deeper meaning and frequently communicates this in a very own language. In order to understand and 'de-code' ancient jewellery it is vital to place it into its religious context. A familiarity of the symbolism of those deities appearing most frequently in jewellery (either directly or indirectly) and an awareness of why they do so is crucial to comprehend the meaning of ancient jewellery, especially that of Greece and Etruria. It is also important to remember that the life and art of ancient peoples were permeated by religious belief to a far greater extent than modern occidental societies and that this is necessarily reflected in their imagery. Subsequently, a number of motifs in Greek jewellery can be given a new or updated iconographical identity. Many others may be approached with a more profound understanding as to why the jewels depict what they do.

Once these issues are borne in mind, the task to understand ancient civilisations and their symbolic and iconographic vocabulary will be found much more rewarding and become, hopefully, less of a task.

Apart from its forms appearing in jewellery, and in the case of Rome also jewellery types, there is also the dimension of colour and material to consider. Although neither the Greeks nor the Romans (and, for all we know, nor the Etruscans) believed in a particular symbolism of colour and material to such great an extent as did, for example, the Egyptians. Some views on colour and material nevertheless are of interest to jewellery. They are, however, limited enough to be discussed here rather than considered separately.

Regarding the colours, white and red play the most important symbolic roles, whereas green and blue are rather less important. White symbolised light, purity,

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<sup>4</sup> On a functional level, jewellery often served as a signet, but it could also contain resins or little sponges soaked in perfume whose scent would evaporate through gaps and deliberate holes in the jewellery; cf. the bull's head pendant of plate 53, or the ear pendants featuring a women's head from Crispiano, now in the National Archaeological Museum of Taranto, Inv. 54.115A-B.



innocence, happiness and humility;<sup>5</sup> green stood for growth, youth (but so do white and red), hope and eternal life; blue could mean proximity to the sky and the gods. However, in Greek jewellery, the primary colour of interest appears to be red (as well as the material gold) and the white, green and blue enamel was, I suggest, primarily used for embellishment of details and not as part of a wider colour symbolism.

Red then signified the divine<sup>6</sup> and was representative of blood and health as well as of fire and, most importantly, light and life.<sup>7</sup> According to John Gage, red was used in Ancient Greece 'as a colour to sanctify weddings', but also 'as a military colour in both Greece and Rome to strike awe into the enemy'.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, before the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, Greek funerary *stelai* were painted (purplish) red, and, in accordance to the awe-inspiring connotations, the interiors of some temples were painted red, too.<sup>9</sup> In Rome at least, purplish-red had apotropaic powers.<sup>10</sup> Red was regarded as the colour of the sun and was therefore associated with light: Aristotle placed red next to light in his colour scale.<sup>11</sup> In this way, red was affiliated with gold, which was already in Egypt equated with the sun. Light and life are closely linked, because 'to be alive was to see the light of the sun.'<sup>12</sup> However,

Greece was exceptional among ancient cultures in having no developed cult of sun and moon gods, nor a prominent place for sun and moon legends in its mythology: such cults, notably those of ancient Egypt, were regarded [...] as barbaric.<sup>13</sup>

Nevertheless, the Greeks did appreciate gold not only for its intrinsic value, apparent indestructibility and easy workability, but also for its sun or flame-like

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<sup>5</sup> On a negative level, white and the absence of colour also stood for all things outside or in the periphery of life, that is, death and the underworld.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, 287d.

<sup>7</sup> A. Hermann, 'Farbe' in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 7, 408f.

<sup>8</sup> Gage, *Colour and Culture*, 26. Although Gage claims that red played an important part in the funerary context, according to A. Hermann white and black seem to have been regarded more appropriate, cf. 'Farbe' in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 7, 400 with reference to, for example, Homer, *Iliad*, 18.352f.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> A. Hermann, 'Farbe' in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 7, 399f, cf. Persius, *Satires*, 5.30; Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 18.4.1.

<sup>11</sup> *Meteorology*, 374b-375b, cf. *On Sense and Sensible Objects*, 422a.

<sup>12</sup> Gage, *Colour and Culture*, 26 with n. 77.

<sup>13</sup> *Idem*, 26.

colour.<sup>14</sup> Gold was the gift of the gods<sup>15</sup> and was a frequent attribute in the world of the divine and heroic. Mortals, on the other hand, who managed to amass considerable gold treasures were guilty of *hybris*, and were haunted by the jealousy of the gods.<sup>16</sup> In the realm of magic, gold (like the colour red) was considered to have apotropaic powers.<sup>17</sup> In philosophy, gold is recognised as the reason of avarice and destruction, so that Plato banned it from his state: no private person is to own any gold.<sup>18</sup> Even though the over-use of gold was regarded as barbaric decadence, in practice all good intentions were, to a certain extent, ignored as is apparent by the extant gold jewellery. We can however, safely assume that any gold jewellery was strictly reserved for the wealthiest local aristocracies – this can not only be inferred by the gold's very high intrinsic value (gold was a rare commodity in classical Greece) but also by the quality of workmanship which suggests costly commissions. The apprehensive attitude towards gold was to change with the conquests of Alexander the Great, who brought in supplies of gold and fostered a growing love for luxury, soon to be surpassed by the Romans. At the beginnings, however, gold was reserved for the Emperor and his court.<sup>19</sup> Although moral philosophers argued staunchly against this decadence, they were all the more so disregarded.

With this in mind, the vast use of gold in Greek jewellery and its occasional embellishment with (red) garnet, which became widely available with Alexander the Great's conquest of the East, take on another meaning.

At Rome, on the other hand, the gemstones were of primary interest: this was probably more because of their intrinsic value and beauty rather than the symbolic meanings of their colours (unlike in Egyptian jewellery where the stones were laden with symbolic meaning).

Naturally, much work remains to be done, especially regarding the symbolism of gem materials in Rome: here, sources seem to be particularly scarce, or are of later date and must therefore be examined critically as to their relevance to Roman times.

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. Pausanias, *Description*, 9.41.5.

<sup>15</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 21.165.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Herodotus, *Histories*, 7.190.

<sup>17</sup> Hans-Jürgen Horn, 'Gold' in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 11, 911.

<sup>18</sup> Plato, *Laws*, 5.2.23, 5.3.4, 5.3.56.

<sup>19</sup> Hans-Jürgen Horn, 'Gold' in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 11, 908.

This work does not claim to be comprehensive. Rather, it aims to be an introduction to this fascinating topic.

Regarding dates and stylistic periods, this work mainly addresses Greek jewellery from the Classical Period (450–330 BC) and the Hellenistic Period (330–27 BC); Etruscan jewellery from about 600 BC – when the Etruscans' power and art were at their peak – to about 300 BC when Etruria was annexed by Rome; and Roman jewellery starting with the inauguration of the Empire in 27 BC and ending with the acceptance of Christian faith by Constantine I in 313 AD. Naturally, none of these dates should be understood as a vehement 'break' in style, they are given for the sake of convenience: jewellery, like most art forms, evolved in a usually continuous development without confinement to specific dates in history.

## I. Iconography and Symbolism

### A. Greece (450 – 27 BC)

Ancient Greek jewellery breathed religiosity. In the words of Herbert Hoffmann,

Greek jewelry [*sic*], no less than other forms of Greek art, constantly invokes the close link between man and the metaphysical forces that permeated and limited his existence. Goldsmiths dipped from the deep font of Greek religiosity and filled jewelry [*sic*] with an unending range of images.<sup>20</sup>

Indeed, images of gods and goddesses as well as of mythological creatures occur in abundance in Greek jewellery: even if deities are not actually depicted themselves, their presence is alluded to by representations of the flora and fauna associated with and sacred to the individual deities.<sup>21</sup> Regarding the flora, this includes the (invariably isolated) representation of leaves as well as of blossoms, fruit, and seeds. Seeds and fruit in turn generally symbolise fertility, a quality not only central to a Greek woman,<sup>22</sup> but also to a country that is subject to an arid climate. In their love for naturalism and their skilful execution thereof, the jewellery of the Greeks differs dramatically from that of the Romans.

Also contrary to the civilisation of Rome, the individualistic culture of Greece fertilised imaginative, playful and often complex designs, which were not a political or even ideological vehicle.<sup>23</sup> The Greeks' concern with beauty and harmony appears to express itself acutely also in their jewellery: to the highest degree naturalistic, it is almost always worked in relief or in the round. Gold is the principal material<sup>24</sup> with occasional enamelling and relatively sparing use of gem materials (mostly garnet), emphasising the intricate craftsmanship, detailed design and a variety of goldsmithing

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<sup>20</sup> Hoffmann and Davidson, *Greek Gold*, 12. The work was published on the occasion of the exhibition *Greek Gold: Jewelry from the Age of Alexander*, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (22 November 1965 – 2 January 1966); The Brooklyn Museum (20 January – 9 March 1966); and the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond (28 March – 1 May 1966). Although many of the exponents later proved to be fakes, Hoffman's theoretical discussion of the subject holds true, particularly as similar pieces of jewellery are known from 'safe' sources, and his interpretations remain relevant and important.

<sup>21</sup> Rf. *ibid.*

<sup>22</sup> For the importance of children cf. the myth of Niobe in Homer, *Iliad*, 24.605-609.

<sup>23</sup> The purpose of certain signet rings was utilitarian rather than political in that the signet served as a substitute of the owner's signature.

<sup>24</sup> Although silver and bronze were in use as well it is largely gold that has come down to us due to its resistance to chemical and physical change.

techniques, especially filigree work. The comparative absence of luxurious extravagance may be partly explained by the relative poverty of the Greeks compared to the wealth of the Etruscans, Phoenicians, Persians, and later to that of Rome, but it is surely also because of the Greeks' general preference for simplicity and dislike of over-elaboration. It is noteworthy that in Greece the wearing of (too much) jewellery was considered effeminate and foolish.<sup>25</sup> Only on special occasions would men wear a golden wreath,<sup>26</sup> although some early 6<sup>th</sup>-century sculptures show men wearing neckbands;<sup>27</sup> finger rings, however, were popular with both men<sup>28</sup> and women. In Hellenistic Greece, wealth began to be uninhibitedly displayed, and in numerous tombs men were found with the whole array of jewellery.

However, what at first sight may seem as pure, 'harmless ornament' – certainly pleasing to the eye – often has a less obvious, deeper meaning, bringing jewellery into the orbit of mythology and religious belief, even if only indirectly. This is because mythology and religion in the lives of the ancient Greeks were omnipresent, which may be difficult to imagine for many modern Westerners.

Greek deities each represent certain qualities whereby the principle of duality is often reflected: any creative power is at the same time destructive, and 'each Greek god contains [this] polarity, an inner tension, a light and a dark side that casts a shadow variously shaped according to his particular character.'<sup>29</sup> Also, it is impossible to draw a firm line between those opposites on the one hand, and the roles of the individual gods on the other hand: Greek mythology is never painted in black and white – and it is exactly this real-life quality, which makes Greek mythology so appealing and universal, even if one does not commit oneself to ancient Greek belief. The same polarity naturally applies to the concept of life and death, love and hate: after all Aphrodite, goddess of love, and Ares, god of war attracted each other.

In order to acquire an understanding of the subtle symbolism in Greek jewellery, it is necessary to be aware of the deities, and by extension their associated flora and fauna, who appear most frequently in jewellery. Men's jewellery was different in

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<sup>25</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 2.871-875.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Demosthenes, *Against Meidias*, 22.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Blanck, *Studien zum griechischen Halsschmuck*, page reference not retrievable.

<sup>28</sup> Known, for example, from the ring size of excavated rings, cf. also Pausanias, *Description*, 10.30.4: 'Among the gifts that Iaseus gave [to Phocus] (as friends will) was a seal-ring, a stone set in gold.'

<sup>29</sup> Stassinopoulos and Beny, *The Gods of Greece*, 16.

iconography, although there is some overlapping: 'male' imagery comprises predatory animals and mythological monsters because of their strength and aggression. They were direct symbols of a man's power and (sexual) prowess, whereas less aggressive animals recall the motif of the chase and hunt. However, women also wore jewellery with the very same imagery, which, in turn, 'may have served as sympathetic magic for the opposite sex'.<sup>30</sup> It will, however, become clear that certain 'male' symbols, such as the ram or bull, occur in their own right on account of their connection to deities playing an important role for women.

As part of an offering to the gods, jewellery fulfilled a religious function in ancient Greece. Individuals and the state alike dedicated it to the gods. Jewellery was an evident choice for women, who, by way of these gifts, might also seek to acquire status.<sup>31</sup> Temple inventories reveal that men usually offered rings, the type of jewellery that was most frequently worn by them, but are also known to have dedicated crowns.<sup>32</sup> Cult officials, on the other hand, would often offer a wreath on their end of term.<sup>33</sup> In addition to these offerings, the cult statue, residing inside the temple, was also decked out with jewellery: male deities were crowned with wreaths whereas female deities were frequently embellished with diadems, necklaces, earrings and bracelets.<sup>34</sup>

Such offerings were also conferred upon the dead who were commonly buried with jewellery. In fact, Greek jewellery is almost exclusively known from grave finds.<sup>35</sup> It is therefore important to consider the implications.

The purpose of funerary jewellery in Classical Greece was to provide the dead with possessions for the afterlife rather than to protect the deceased. In the funerary context, jewellery was therefore desirable yet it was not an imperative necessity as it was, for example, in ancient Egypt.

The imagery of the excavated jewellery often refers to the life both above and below the earth. Oversized yet flimsy wreaths found in tombs served a purely funerary

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<sup>30</sup> Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 41.

<sup>31</sup> *Idem*, 32.

<sup>32</sup> For example, Aleshire, *The Athenian Asklepieion*, 129-141.

<sup>33</sup> Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 32.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>35</sup> However, jewellery often shows evidence of wear, and it is clear that these pieces thus accompany the owners (who evidently cherished them when alive) on their journey from life to death; they do not constitute 'just' an offering for the dead, but reflect the personal tastes of their owners.

purpose and possibly signified victory in the battle of life;<sup>36</sup> although Tertullian, writing during the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, suggests that they sanctified the dead: 'It is characteristic of the dead to be thus crowned since they became immediately an idol with both the apparel and worship of consecration.'<sup>37</sup>

Upon the living, wreaths were also bestowed by the state as a mark of honour, for which a certain sum of money was decreed.<sup>38</sup> Jewellery was, however, foremost worn – for reasons of beauty as well as status. The feminine nature of the business is closely reflected in its iconography: Aphrodite is unsurprisingly the most popular deity depicted or alluded to. After all, jewellery was a potent means to make the wearer attractive to the opposite sex. Acquiring and securing an adequate husband was of prime importance to young girls in antiquity (and thereafter). Just how much religion, love, life, and death was linked to the iconography of Greek jewellery can best be appreciated by considering, with respect to their representation in jewellery, the individual deities and the animals and plants associated with them.

## Gods

### *Aphrodite – Eros – Nike*

Aphrodite's role in Greek mythology extends over various social aspects. Foremost, she was the goddess of love, desire and procreation (including sex, desire, flirtation; marriage; procreation; prostitution). Secondly, she was the goddess of beauty (itself very closely associated with love and desire due to the belief that beauty invariably invokes love) as well as of pleasure and gaiety; of love poetry and song; and, by extension, of peace.

As goddess of love, seduction, and desire she excited love in gods and men – thereby ruling over them – while her supreme beauty made every man desire her as her wife.<sup>39</sup> Marriages, too, were her domain,<sup>40</sup> which she shared with Demeter. Here, Aphrodite's particular aspect, concerned reproduction, and girls as well as widows

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<sup>36</sup> Rf. Robinson, *Excavations at Olynthus*, 158 n. 318.

<sup>37</sup> Tertullian, *De corona militis*, 10: 'Nam et mortuorum est ita coronari, vel quoniam et ipsi idola statim fiunt et habitu et cultu consecrationis.' For the illumination of some issues I owe thanks to Professor Roger P.H. Green and Mrs. Linda E.M. Knox.

<sup>38</sup> *BMCJ*, xxxii n. 1.

<sup>39</sup> *Homeric Hymns*, 6.16-17; Homer, *Odyssey* 8.334-342.

<sup>40</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 5.73.2; Homer, *Iliad*, 5.429; *Odyssey*, 20.74; Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, 9.16.

about to remarry and mothers of the bride-to-be sacrificed to Aphrodite before their or their daughters' wedding so that their marriage (or that of their daughters) might literally be fruitful.<sup>41</sup> Thus, she was also seen as the personification of nature's generative powers, making her the mother of all living beings. She had the power to grant beauty and invincible charms to others and considering that these features were seen as the prerequisite for a (successful) marriage, she was understandably worshipped by most women. The seductive Aphrodite was, unsurprisingly, patron goddess of prostitutes, then known as Aphrodite Hetaira ('courtesan') or Porne ('prostitute').<sup>42</sup> In her generative, cosmogonist role she was called Urania ('heavenly'), which implied a more spiritual love, whereas as Aphrodite Pandemos ('common to all people') she was responsible for low sensual pleasure (contrasting with 'heavenly love') on the one hand and social structure and pacification on the other hand.<sup>43</sup>

In the context of leisure, Aphrodite gave her name to the luckiest throw at dice,<sup>44</sup> which consisted of knucklebones (*astragaloi* or astragals). Playing with astragals was very popular with children but they were also regarded as prophesising fate while at the same time functioning as amulets, too (cf. the ring mounted with a carved chalcedony astragal, plate 74).<sup>45</sup> They are common in Greek graves<sup>46</sup>, a particular grave find even features a necklace strung with astragals rendered in gold,<sup>47</sup> and the painter Polygnotos showed the game being played in the underworld.<sup>48</sup> In jewellery, several pairs of earrings exist with Nikai throwing astragals (for example, plate 36). In accordance with Greek thought where love/life and death were closely interlinked, it is not surprising that Aphrodite also plays a role in the connection with the underworld:<sup>49</sup> in order to preserve Hector's body from decay, Aphrodite anoints him with rose oil.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 2.34.12, 3.13.9.

<sup>42</sup> Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge and André Motte, 'Aphrodite' in *OCD*, 120.

<sup>43</sup> Originally, Aphrodite Pandemos had a political connotation: according to Apollodorus, Aphrodite Pandemos was worshipped near the Athenian *agora* (Jacoby, *Fragmente*, frag. 244 F 113), whose origin is that of Theseus having united the scattered townships into one civil body (Pausanias, *Description*, 1.22.3). Since Plato's *Symposium* (180d-181), however, Aphrodite Urania and Pandemos stand for celestial *versus* profane love, respectively. For a critical analysis see Pirenne-Delforge, 'Épithètes culturelles et interprétation philosophique', esp. 148-54.

<sup>44</sup> Horace, *Odes*, 2.7.25; Cicero, *On Divination*, 1.13.23.

<sup>45</sup> Schmidt, *Spielzeug*, 55.

<sup>46</sup> Kurtz and Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, 208.

<sup>47</sup> Dating from the 7<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century BC in the Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington (Indiana), inv. 69.107.15A, illustrated in Rudolph, *A Golden Legacy*, 10.A, p. 63.

<sup>48</sup> Pausanias, *Description*, 10.30.2.

<sup>49</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, 269b.

<sup>50</sup> And/or ambrosia, cf. Homer, *Iliad*, 23.185-187.



She is further associated with death and rebirth in the vegetation cult of Adonis,<sup>51</sup> whereas in Sparta she is worshipped as a blindfolded, fettered Aphrodite Morpho. According to the local legend, the fetters symbolised the faithfulness of wives to their husbands.<sup>52</sup> A more gloomy interpretation, however, sees the fetters as a more or less subtle allusion to the bonds that marriage imposes on the hitherto 'free' girls.

Jewellery depicting Aphrodite herself, although often accompanied by her son Eros, exists (plates 1–3); however, towards the Hellenistic period her winged companions Eros and Nike were a more popular *sujet* for jewellery design (for example, plates 24–28, 34–37).

In the animal kingdom, a variety of birds were sacred to Aphrodite, most famously (and most significantly for jewellery) doves and swans.<sup>53</sup> The dove stood proverbially for love, gentleness, and fright<sup>54</sup> as well as gullibility.<sup>55</sup> Already in early Latin drama, the beloved girl was also nicknamed 'dove' (*columba*).<sup>56</sup> Lovers were often depicted in her company,<sup>57</sup> and doves were given as a token of love.<sup>58</sup> It is therefore tempting to assign another dimension to jewellery depicting doves: on the one hand, jewellery itself is a highly personal gift closely related to beauty and status (and therefore, by extension, love and marriage), while on the other hand, the bird evokes clearly the goddess of sensuality. Jewellery portraying doves (plates 4–7) are especially suitable as tokens of love rendered in precious gold. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine that the ring with an engraved dove on the front and a kneeling Eros at the back (plates 5 and 26) could have been *anything but* a token of love – secret love perhaps, as the Eros is cleverly hidden when worn. The kneeling pose of Eros might even suggest a proposal, making the ring a proper engagement ring. Yet, according to F. H. Marshall 'there seems to be no evidence of this custom [of rings as tokens of betrothal] having existed among the Greeks.'<sup>59</sup> Marshall's theory is still widely

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<sup>51</sup> Theocritus 15.100-49 (vol. 1): Aphrodite's lover Adonis was killed by a boar and upon his death he had to descend to the underworld but was allowed to return to earth for part of the year.

<sup>52</sup> Pausanias, *Description* 3.15.10-1. However, deities in fetters are usually associated with ancestral or death cults, showing the connection between life and death, joy and distress cf. A. Delivorrias, G. Berger Doer and A. Kossatz-Deissmann, 'Aphrodite' in *LIMC*, vol. 2, no. 1, 4.

<sup>53</sup> For example, Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 13.674 (doves), 14.597 (doves), 15.386 (doves), 9.708 (swans), 10.719 (swans). Other animals include the sparrow, swallow, white goose, and a bird called *iynx*, which is identified with the wryneck (*jynx torquilla*).

<sup>54</sup> Otto, *Sprichwörter*, 88-89.

<sup>55</sup> Plautus, *Poenulus*, 676.

<sup>56</sup> Plautus, *Casina*, 138.

<sup>57</sup> Keller, *Tierwelt*, vol. 2, 123.

<sup>58</sup> Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, 349.

<sup>59</sup> *BMCR*, xxi.

accepted to this day.<sup>60</sup> In my opinion, however, the ring above may have been the commission of an especially imaginative (and progressive) suitor, and therefore evidence of the existence of rings as tokens of love – even if the practice was perhaps not as regularly and widely in use as it was, for example, later in Rome.

The swan's elegance and beauty make it a suitable companion of Aphrodite, especially so because it also symbolised lust on account of the Leda myth.<sup>61</sup> The ear pendant suspending an enamelled swan from a surmount set with a rose (not a rosette) represents the goddess twofold (plate 8). White hens were sacrificed to Aphrodite;<sup>62</sup> they occasionally occur in jewellery (plate 9). The dolphin<sup>63</sup> was sacred to her on account of her birth from the sea, and was variously employed in jewellery: as necklace clasps,<sup>64</sup> ear hoops (plate 10) or, playfully, carrying Eros on a pair of ear pendants (plate 24). As Aphrodite Pandemos she rides the ram whereas as Aphrodite Urania she is associated with the tortoise, the former a symbol of sexual vigour,<sup>65</sup> the latter of domesticity and taciturnity and perhaps also of fertility on account of her many eggs.<sup>66</sup> Footstools in Aphrodite's temples were often decorated with tortoises in

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<sup>60</sup> Although the opposite had already been proposed by Reinach: 'Polycrate, maître de la mer [...] qui se fait conduire sur un vaisseau loin de côtes pour contracter alliance avec l'élément humide en lui offrant son anneau. C'est le *mariage* [...] du doge Polycrate avec la mer' ('Xerxès et l'Hellespont', 10).

<sup>61</sup> Keller, *Tierwelt*, vol. 2, 216. Leda was raped by Zeus in the shape of a swan.

<sup>62</sup> Alciphron, *Letters*, 4.13.5.

<sup>63</sup> The dolphin was 'shared' between various deities, most notably Aphrodite, Dionysus, Poseidon and Apollo.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. three necklaces in the National Archaeological Museum, Taranto (Inv. 54.131, Inv. 50.623, Inv. 22.410).

<sup>65</sup> Keller, *Tierwelt*, vol. 1, 320-321.

<sup>66</sup> Pausanias, *Description*, 6.25.1; Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*, 75; *Moralia*, 142d, 381e.

In her discussion of the tortoise/turtle in antiquity, Dorothee Dumoulin argues that Aphrodite was associated with the water-inhabiting turtle on account of the sea, her fertility and the beauty of the highly prized tortoiseshell (the shell of certain turtles), which was used in luxury products and was very popular with the Romans. However, Pheidias' sculpture to which Pausanias refers shows Aphrodite resting her foot on a tortoise (sea turtles have fairly flat bodies). Dumoulin explains Pheidias' choice as an artistic rendering of a footrest with reference to the story of the prostitute Lais who was beaten to death with 'wooden tortoises', i.e. the footstools in Aphrodite's temples, which were often carved as or decorated with tortoises (*Antike Schildkröten*, 65-69 with reference to Athenaeus, *The Learned Banquet*, 13.588c and 589b). The fact that they were tortoises rather than turtles (or were they?) may be explained in practical terms: turtles have flat bodies whereas tortoises have a more raised body. For the purpose of footstools the slightly raised outline of the tortoise would probably have made better sense.

Interestingly, the tortoise living on land was often associated with Hermes who has been accredited with inventing the lyre made of the tortoise's skeleton for his protégées, the music-loving shepherds. It appears that we can argue Aphrodite is patron of the sea turtle due to her origins in the sea, her famed fertility (which was many times that of tortoises), and her prized tortoiseshell, whereas Hermes is patron of the tortoise on account of the lyre. Her fertility in particular may support the universality of Aphrodite Urania. The footstools in Aphrodite's temples and thus the tortoise in Pheidias' sculpture may be for the simple reason that the physical shape of the tortoise is more suitable than that of the turtle for this particular purpose. Lastly, Plutarch's simple yet imaginative explanation of the tortoise

order to remind the visitor that these belong to the temple, that is, Aphrodite.<sup>67</sup> While ram heads frequently occur in jewellery (plates 11–12), the tortoise is fairly rare (plate 13).

Amongst the flora, myrtle, 'that herb of passion',<sup>68</sup> and rose, the 'finest of flowers, [...] darling of spring [and] delight of the gods',<sup>69</sup> were famously linked to her. Myrtle grows preferably close to the coast and a bush of myrtle was said to have protected the nude goddess, who was emerging from the sea, from satyrs who had nothing but licentious intentions.<sup>70</sup> The evergreen leaves and pretty white flowers symbolised beauty and youth.<sup>71</sup> Other reasons for Aphrodite's preference for myrtle include its celebrated aroma, its lush blossoming, and its reputation as a powerful remedy against gynaecological ailments,<sup>72</sup> and its berries, rather welcome in the business of courtship, 'impart an agreeable smell to the breath, even when eaten the day before'.<sup>73</sup> So closely was myrtle connected with Aphrodite that its name was also used 'to refer to either the clitoris or the pudenda of the woman'.<sup>74</sup> It is only natural that this aromatic plant, generally very popular in wreaths,<sup>75</sup> was extensively used for bridal wreaths.<sup>76</sup> However, in keeping with Greek dualism, myrtle was also connected to death and used as burial wreaths.<sup>77</sup> Surviving myrtle wreaths excavated from women's graves could well have been their bridal wreath, which had been kept hitherto.<sup>78</sup> A fine wreath has survived (now in Pforzheim<sup>79</sup>), while a later example dating from the Hellenistic period is in New York (plate 16). A whole range of myrtle jewellery featuring fruit and flowers as well as sprays and wreaths has survived (plates 14–18). In Roman

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(turtle) being a symbol of domesticity because she carries her house with her may be due to the fact that most Greeks would only know the tortoise and have rudimentary knowledge about the turtle. Although I would like to acknowledge the differentiation between turtle and tortoise (and their respective patron deities Aphrodite and Hermes), I will refer throughout this work to the animal as 'tortoise'.

<sup>67</sup> Keller, *Tierwelt*, vol. 2, 250, cf. above.

<sup>68</sup> Nonnos, *Dionysiaca*, 32.28.

<sup>69</sup> *Greek Lyric II: Anacreontea*, frag. 44.

<sup>70</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.143.

<sup>71</sup> Baumann, *Greek Wild Flowers*, 51.

<sup>72</sup> Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, 1356; cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, 15.37, 23.83.

<sup>73</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 23.81

<sup>74</sup> Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis*, 63 with n. 21.

<sup>75</sup> Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 1.27–28, ed. Dindorf.

<sup>76</sup> Aristophanes, *Birds*, 160–1: sesame and poppy are reminiscent of the wedding cake, while myrtle and mint allude to the wedding wreaths worn; cf. August Steier, 'Sesamon' in *RE*, vol. IIA.2, 1851–52; Blech, *Studien zum Kranz*, 79–80 with fig. 21d; Pliny, *Natural History*, 15.37; Cato, *On Agriculture*, 8.2, 133.2.

<sup>77</sup> Euripides, *Electra*, 324, 512; cf. E. Hahn, 'Myrte' in *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, vol. 8, 392.

<sup>78</sup> Hermann, *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Antiquitäten*, 272 n. 2; for the custom to keep bridal wreaths in modern Greece see Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen*, 90 n. 44.

<sup>79</sup> Schmuckmuseum, Pforzheim, inv. 1959/92a, unpublished.

times, generals who returned victorious without shedding blood (or those who had to hand over their army to a successor) were granted an *ovatio* instead of a triumph, where they would wear a myrtle instead of a laurel wreath; some generals celebrating a triumph nevertheless chose to wear a myrtle instead of a laurel wreath.<sup>80</sup>

The other prominent flower in Aphrodite's realm was the rose, which was said to have sprung from the blood of Aphrodite's dying lover Adonis.<sup>81</sup> Therefore and because they are so prone to decay, roses are symbols of love and of death. Naturalistically modelled flower heads as well as a whole wreath of rose blossoms have survived (plates 8 and 19).

Fruit are generally a symbol of sensuality, temptation and fertility; the giving and accepting of fruit may be regarded as a symbolic sexual act,<sup>82</sup> or at least a prelude to marriage: both Persephone and Atalanta were tricked into marriage by their grooms-to-be Hades and Melanion, when accepting pomegranates and apples respectively. It follows naturally that the pomegranate, with its innumerable fleshy seeds symbolising life and fecundity,<sup>83</sup> was an attribute of Aphrodite. Traditionally, a bride was given a pomegranate on entering her husband's house as a charm for love and fertility.<sup>84</sup> The symbolism of the pomegranate is, however, ambivalent: nowadays it is most commonly known as an attribute of Persephone, queen of the dead; in antiquity, however, it signified the powers of life and creation *versus* death and destruction.<sup>85</sup> As it is associated with both the goddesses of love and of death the pomegranate becomes one of the most versatile and suitable symbols to be used in jewellery which, we must not forget, served both as adornment for the living and as grave goods for the dead (plates 20–23). Nevertheless, I would still argue that – to the ancients – the pomegranate was primarily related to Aphrodite. Thus symbolising Aphrodite (and the ideas she stood for) and only evoking Persephone, mainly in her role as queen of the

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<sup>80</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 15.38.

<sup>81</sup> Bion, 1.65. There are slight variations of the mythological origin; cf. Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, 255.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Life of Solon*, 20.4: Solon's solution to infertile couples requires 'that the bride eat a quince and be shut up in a chamber with the bridegroom; and that the husband of an heiress shall approach her thrice a month without fail'. For a discussion about the giving and accepting of fruit as, respectively, the intent of and invitation to seduction cf. Faraone, 'Aphrodite's KESTOS and Apples for Atalanta: Aphrodisiacs in Early Greek Myth and Ritual'.

<sup>83</sup> Baumann, *Greek Wild Flowers*, 50.

<sup>84</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.601.

<sup>85</sup> Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, 242; cf. Pausanias, *Description*, 9.25.1.

dead (which is supported by the pomegranate's role in the Eleusinian Mysteries).<sup>86</sup> For some reason this ambivalence of the pomegranate and, consequently, its importance regarding the iconography of jewellery has not been discussed to any significant degree.

Patricia Davidson recognised polished garnet crystals used for pendants as individual pomegranate seeds.<sup>87</sup> I would like to go one step further and extend this interpretation to somewhat large, round garnets more or less enclosed between two caps of gold: the lower of which spreads like the serrated 'crown' of the pomegranate's underside, and often suspends tassels of similarly modelled miniature pomegranates, which may indeed signify the spilling of seeds from the whole fruit (plates 22–23).

The apple-tree, too, was dedicated to Aphrodite: its sweet and delicious fruit as well as its delicate pinkish-white flowers accorded well with the goddess of pleasure and beauty. In mythology, Paris awarded the apple to Aphrodite, thereby declaring her the most beautiful of the goddesses (and thus unwittingly setting off a chain of events culminating in the Trojan War), while Melanion tricked Atalanta into marriage by casting golden apples before her.<sup>88</sup> Although important in the cult of Aphrodite, apples do not occur with any regularity in jewellery. The earring with Aphrodite flanked by lions and offering apples (plate 1) may, however, allude to the Atalanta myth, the award bestowed by Paris onto Aphrodite, or to the giving of fruit in general.

Eros was, according to early tradition, a cosmogonist force and one of the oldest gods: through the power of higher love, he united the discordant elements of the

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<sup>86</sup> Cf. Pausanias, *Description*, 8.37.7. The Mystery initiations at Eleusis were an initiation ceremony for the ancient cult of Demeter and Persephone (and also Hades by extension). With the political fusion of Athens and Eleusis, the Eleusinian Mysteries became a (city-) state religion. However, unlike the cult of Athena under whose patronage every Athenian found himself by birth, the Mysteries were for the individual rather than for the citizens: group initiation was prohibited, and initiation was voluntary. However, initiation was necessary in order to come under the protection of the deities. The pomegranate was a symbol of the Mysteries yet it was prohibited in the Mystery initiations on the day of fasting (fasting was considered most essential for complete purification). For a thorough discussion of the Mysteries cf. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*.

<sup>87</sup> Hoffmann and Davidson, *Greek Gold*, 286 with pl. 136.

<sup>88</sup> Atalanta, a self-declared virgin, claimed that she would only marry the man who could successfully race her in a foot-race (unsuccessful suitors would have to die). Melanion (or Hippomenes), having prayed to Aphrodite for help and been given three golden apples, cast these apples before Atalanta who stopped to pick them up. This slowed her down and secured Melanion her hand in marriage. Later on, the couple made love in a sanctuary of Zeus (or Cybele/Artemis) and as punishment for their impiety they were changed into lions (cf. for example, Apollodorus, *Library*, 3.9.2): a symbol of passion and ferocity.

universe whereas he was the driving force behind procreation in nature through the power of sexual desire.<sup>89</sup> Although representations of this early Eros do not occur in jewellery (he is usually depicted in conjunction with Aphrodite and/or as a playful, winged boy), the cosmogonist aspect of Eros may add another dimension to Eros-related jewellery when considered in a funerary context. Since in Greek thought the powers of genesis were closely interlinked with those of destruction, it is possible that Eros assumes a chthonic role in funerary jewellery. However, I would very much like to refrain from over-interpreting here, especially so because, to my knowledge, no jewellery is extant where an iconography of the early Eros can be established<sup>90</sup> and therefore we do not know whether such jewellery existed.

Nevertheless, 'most men consider Eros to be the youngest of the gods and the son of Aphrodite,'<sup>91</sup> to which he owes his boyish, later even cherub-like, appearance. The familiar companion of his mother Aphrodite (plates 2–3), he is often disobedient but always loyal to her. During Hellenistic times, he established himself as the god of low, sensual love, playing tricks on men and gods alike. He has the power to set any heart aflame with passion but can, conversely, also instil aversion. Eros was especially popular on earrings where he could whisper paroles of seduction into the wearer's ear (for example, plate 24), and is invariably shown with the *inyx* (plate 25), a wheel-shaped love charm originally decorated with the bird of the same name,<sup>92</sup> or a torch (the bow was a Roman addition). A kneeling Eros on the back of a ring engraved with a dove indicates a token of love or evidence of an engagement ring proper as discussed above. A ring depicting Eros in flight carrying a wreath must have served a similar purpose (plate 27): the subject matter is reinforced by the Greek inscription 'CHAIRE' ('joy'). The lettering indicates that this ring did not serve any utilitarian purpose. Rather, it was meant to be decorative, with a sentimental intention: Eros carrying or even offering a wreath echoes the ring of plate 2 – what looks like a myrtle wreath may thus be an offering to Aphrodite and/or the prospect or promise of a wedding

<sup>89</sup> Plato *Symposion* 178b, Aristophanes, *Birds*, 695.

<sup>90</sup> And if one wanted to do so the question would remain how does one do so. Establishing an iconography of the cosmogonic Eros is quite outside the scope of this work and, in any case, not the intention.

<sup>91</sup> Pausanias, *Description*, 9.27.1.

<sup>92</sup> Theocritus, 2.17, 22, 27, etc., ed. Gow. For modern discussions of the *inyx* see Gow, 'IYNX, RHOMBOS, *Rhombus*, *Turbo*' and Faraone, 'The Wheel, the Whip and other Implements of Torture'. Both love charm and bird take their name from Iynx, the daughter of Peitho or Echo, who employed magic to seduce Zeus either for Io or for herself. The offended Hera turned her into a bird. The love-charm, a spoked wheel with a spread-eagled *inyx* fastened to it, was suspended and spun to attract a love-object (cf. Albert Henrichs, 'inyx' in *OCD*, 792).

wreath, the prospect of which causes the bride (or the groom or indeed both) to be overjoyed. Again, it is very difficult to imagine that jewellery and especially such rings were not given as betrothal rings. Even if these may not have been firmly established in ritual, such rings are indicative that they existed, if only informally.

Eros' choice of flower was, like that of his mother, the seductive yet thorny rose,<sup>93</sup> which embodies the proximity of love and pain, life and death so perfectly. In the animal kingdom he favours the cockerel and the ram (plates 11–12), both of which are indicative of sexual potency,<sup>94</sup> the former he shared with Athena, the latter with Aphrodite (and Dionysus). Traditionally, a cockerel constituted a love gift in ancient Greece: however, unlike the dove, which was given by the boy to the girl, the cockerel was typically given by the more mature man to the boy.<sup>95</sup> Consequently, the fragments of a diadem from Cyprus (plate 28) depicting two Erotes, each holding a cockerel in the lap, is more likely to show an exchange of a love gift than, as Williams and Ogden presume, the start of a cock fight<sup>96</sup> (unless their phrasing was meant rather literally). The cockerel as symbol of manly potency in turn appeals to the female sex, which classifies the (admittedly infrequent) motif of the cockerel in jewellery as 'sympathetic' jewellery.<sup>97</sup>

On a Pompeian mural Eros is shown in a chariot drawn by gazelles,<sup>98</sup> and these graceful animals also occasionally appear in jewellery (plate 29). The lion, very common in Greek jewellery, is associated with Eros on account of his irresistibility, power, and passion.<sup>99</sup> Tamed by Eros, it is possible that lions in jewellery stand for the commanding male sex tamed by love/marriage. As a predator and due to its majestic and fierce characteristics it may also have special appeal to men, but it invariably and unquestionably occurs in women's jewellery (plates 30 and, less importantly, plate 1).

The recurrent motif of a butterfly (first in Hellenistic Greece, plate 32, then in imperial Rome, plate 33) recalls the myth of Psyche popular in later antiquity: born a mortal princess she incurred Aphrodite's wrath because of her exceptional beauty.

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<sup>93</sup> See A. Hermay, H. Cassimatis and R. Vollkommer, 'Eros' in *LIMC*, vol. 3, no. 2, pl. 91.

<sup>94</sup> Keller, *Tierwelt*, vol. 2, 138; *idem*, vol. 1, 320–321.

<sup>95</sup> Rf. Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke*, 97ff. A particularly straightforward *kylix* now in Oxford (Ashmolean Museum 517) shows a bearded man offering a boy a cockerel with the left hand while reaching out with his right hand in the direction of the boy's genitals.

<sup>96</sup> Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 237.

<sup>97</sup> For example, the plaques found in the Seven Brothers kurgan 2, now in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Inv. Sbr. II. 22.

<sup>98</sup> Rf. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art*, pl. 69.

<sup>99</sup> Keller, *Tierwelt*, vol. 1, 53; cf. Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods*, 20.2.

When Aphrodite ordered Eros to make Psyche fall in love with the most hideous of men, the god himself was struck by her beauty and carried her to his secret palace. There he visited her at night and left before dawn. Hiding his identity from Psyche, Eros commanded her never to look at his face or to ask who he was. Psyche, however, alarmed by her jealous sisters, discovered her lover's identity, and in doing so woke up Eros who scolded her for her mistrust and escaped. Psyche then embarked on her long journey to find back her lover until she entered into the service of Aphrodite who, after requesting a series of difficult tasks from her, finally gave in, granting Psyche immortality, and she was married to Eros who secretly still loved her.<sup>100</sup> Psyche ('soul') is usually represented with butterfly wings or as a butterfly and signifies, simplified, the tests and torments the soul has to undergo to reach complete happiness.

Nike not only personified victory but was also the female counterpart of Eros: the motif of Nike tying her sandals recalls the task regularly performed by Eros for Aphrodite<sup>101</sup> (plate 34, cf. 3) while also echoing Aphrodite herself who in the visual arts was often seen tying her sandals. Nike's association with Aphrodite and Eros is due to the all-defeating powers of these deities: no creature can escape their influence. It has also been suggested that Nike symbolises not only victory itself but also victorious feminine beauty:<sup>102</sup> a very plausible theory since a girl was, her genealogy left aside, ranked foremost according to her beauty. Thus thanks to her beauty she would emerge victorious by acquiring a suitable husband whose heart she conquered by her good looks. Towards the late Classical age, representations of winged Nikai in jewellery become popular (plates 34–37). On a pair of earrings, two Nikai are shown playing knucklebones or dice (plate 36). This theme is often repeated, sometimes suspending Erotes holding an *inyx*.<sup>103</sup> They can thus be interpreted as 'being involved in the game of love and the victory of amorous conquest'<sup>104</sup> as well as engaging in a game popular also as grave offerings.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Cf. Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*.

<sup>101</sup> Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 39.

<sup>102</sup> Exhibition catalogue, *Das Gold der Skythen und Griechen*, 178, referring to Ludolf Stephani: either *Putevoditel' po anticnomu otdeleniju Ermitaza. Zal reznych kamnej* (Moscow 1856) or *Die Vasensammlung der Kaiserlichen Eremitage* (St. Petersburg 1869). Unfortunately it was not possible to verify the original sources or to which of the two sources the catalogue refers (cf. n. 118).

<sup>103</sup> For example, two pairs of ear pendants from Kyme, British Museum, London GR 1877.9-19.16-17 and GR 1877.9-10.18-19.

<sup>104</sup> *Idem*, 40.

<sup>105</sup> Kurtz and Boardman, *Greek Burial Customs*, 208.



### *Artemis*

Artemis is in many ways very important to the female sex. A virgin-goddess, both physically and mentally, Artemis longs for freedom: she would not belong to nor be confined by anyone. According to Socrates she

appears to get her name from her healthy (*artemes*) and well-ordered nature, and her love of virginity; or perhaps he who named her meant that she is learned in virtue (*arête*), or possibly, too, that she hates sexual intercourse (*aroton misei*) of man and woman; or he who gave the goddess her name may have given it for any or all of these reasons.<sup>106</sup>

The twin sister of Apollo, she was born first, 'easily, with no travail and, barely a few moments old, she becomes her mother's midwife, assisting over nine agonising days and nights at the birth of her brother'.<sup>107</sup> As the sister of Apollo she becomes his female equivalent: in her role as goddess of strength and health, equipped with bow, quiver and arrows, she sends sudden death and plague among men and animals, more particularly to women.<sup>108</sup> Conversely, she was able to cure the wounded and diseased. She was, however, specifically protectress of the young, both human and animal.<sup>109</sup> Responsible for childbirth<sup>110</sup> and infants (both boy and girl) from birth to weaning, she subsequently only took care of the girl child (whereas Apollo was protector to the boy child); above all she was concerned with a woman's transformation from *parthenos* ('virgin') to *gyne*, the fully-grown, 'domesticated', married woman.<sup>111</sup> Brides-to-be sacrificed to Artemis to gain her approval for taking leave from girlhood.<sup>112</sup> As the sun, symbol of light and clarity, was associated with Apollo, so was the moon with Artemis:<sup>113</sup> darkness and mystical obscurity was her domain and her lunar connections are directly linked to the female (lunar) cycle. In this aspect, Artemis is also

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<sup>106</sup> Plato, *Cratylus*, 406b.

<sup>107</sup> Stassinopoulos and Beny, *Gods of Greece*, 69; cf. Callimachus, *Hymns*, 3.29-35; *Homeric Hymns*, 3.91-92.

<sup>108</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 6.205, 427, 19.59, 21.483; *Odyssey*, 11.171-3, 324, 15.478, 18.202, 20.61.

<sup>109</sup> *Orphic Hymns*, 36.3-4, 8; Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, 142.

<sup>110</sup> Artemis shared the patronage of childbirth with Hera: while Hera was responsible on the mother's side, Artemis was responsible on the infant's side.

<sup>111</sup> Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Artemis', in *OCD*, 183.

<sup>112</sup> Euripides, *Iphigenia at Aulis*, 433-34, 718-19; Pollux, *Onomasticon*, 3.38; Plutarch, *Aristides*, 20.6, cf. *Suidas* s.v. Arktos e Brauroniois, Lysizonos gyne.

<sup>113</sup> *Greek Lyric I*, *Alcaeus* frag 390; cf. Strabo, *Geography*, 14.1.6; Cicero, *On the Nature of the Gods*, 3.20.

sometimes identified with Hekate,<sup>114</sup> the goddess of magic, witchcraft, the night, ghosts and necromancy.<sup>115</sup> She helped Demeter in her search for Persephone and is usually depicted holding twin-torches.

In her role as goddess of the wilderness and hunt she represents the power of nature, also appealing to men.

Artemis is usually depicted wearing a short *chlamys*, hunting boots, holding a bow, quiver and arrows or a spear (plate 38). Although Artemis wearing a long robe (and veil) represents her as the lunar Artemis Selene,<sup>116</sup> the engraving on a ring from the Great Bliznitsa depicts Artemis clad in a long *chiton*, wearing a *polos* (wide, cylindrical hat or crown), but holding a bow in her hand, thereby marking her as Artemis the huntress.<sup>117</sup> However, Artemis riding a stag, holding a torch and wearing a long dress (plate 39) probably represents Artemis-Selene or Artemis-Hekate looking for Persephone.

Her chariot was drawn by four stags with golden antlers;<sup>118</sup> it has, however, been suggested that the stag symbolises the purity and virginity of the goddess on the one hand, while also embodying the 'roar' of love on the other hand, which would indirectly link the stag to Aphrodite.<sup>119</sup> In addition to the pair of ear pendants depicting Artemis riding a stag (plate 39), a stag's head appears in its own right as a pendant later converted into a pin (plate 40). At Ephesus, Artemis was very closely associated with the bee and her priestess was referred to as Melissa ('Bee')<sup>120</sup> (cf. the bee in plate 39). Be it through Artemis' association with the ancient Anatolian goddess Cybele<sup>121</sup> or on her own account, she is, like her brother Apollo, also connected to the hawk:<sup>122</sup> a few hawk fibulae were found in the foundation deposit of the Artemision in Ephesus, built c. 560 BC (plate 41).<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Aeschylus, *Suppliant Women*, 676.

<sup>115</sup> *Homeric Hymn 2 To Demeter*, 19 (Hekate heard Persephone crying for help); *Orphic Hymn 1 to Hecate*.

<sup>116</sup> Leonhard Schmitz, 'Artemis' in Smith, *Dictionary*, vol. 1, 375.

<sup>117</sup> Now in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, BB37 (not illustrated).

<sup>118</sup> Callimachus, *Hymns* 3.127-133; Apollonius, *Argonautica*, 3.879.

<sup>119</sup> Exhibition catalogue, *Das Gold der Skythen und Griechen*, 136, referring to Ludolf Stephani, either *Putevoditel' po anticnomu otdeleniju Ermitaza. Zal reznykh kamnej* (Moscow 1856) or *Die Vasensammlung der Kaiserlichen Eremitage* (St. Petersburg 1869). Unfortunately it was not possible to verify the original source or to which of the two sources the catalogue refers (cf. n. 101).

<sup>120</sup> Cf. Elderkin, 'The Bee of Artemis'.

<sup>121</sup> Cybele was worshipped throughout Asia Minor as the 'Great Goddess'. Although Cybele's responsibilities went beyond those of Artemis, they nevertheless shared the curing and sending of disease and both were mistress of wild nature and goddesses of the mountains.

<sup>122</sup> Aelian, *On Animals*, 12.4.

<sup>123</sup> Cf. Platz-Horster, *Ancient Gold Jewellery*, 24.

The fir-tree (or cypress) reflects both her passion for hunting in and the darkness of the woods.<sup>124</sup> Although cones from coniferous trees can be positively identified (plate 59),<sup>125</sup> their stocky shape implies that they are pine-tree cones rather than (the usually more elongated) fir-tree cones. However, if one wanted to be a bit more flexible it is also possible to argue that such cones in jewellery are to a certain extent stylised and a drop-shape is preferable for the overall design of jewellery to a cone resembling a stick; therefore, these pinecones could also stand for fir-tree cones. Alternatively, there may have existed a variety of slightly different fir-trees, and some may have easily resembled pine-tree cones. The latter theory is preferable, I should think, but since I cannot substantiate either theory, it is perhaps best to point at the possibilities but not to come to an unsubstantiated conclusion.

Artemis also shared the laurel with her brother Apollo<sup>126</sup> (see below), the tree of purification, freedom and honour as well as peace and fame.

### ***Persephone – Demeter***

Persephone, whose name translates as 'to bring death' or 'cause death', is the infernal goddess of death, queen of the underworld, wife of Hades on the one hand and goddess of vegetation and spring growth on the other. Spending a third of the year with her husband in the underworld, she would return to earth and spend the rest of the year with her mother Demeter.

In spite of its association with Aphrodite, the pomegranate is nowadays notoriously associated with Persephone: carried off by Hades who was required to let her return to the upper world, she was tricked into eating a handful of pomegranate seeds which prevented her from returning to earth for good because 'by eating a pomegranate in the Underworld she had involuntarily married Hades'.<sup>127</sup> However, it was also commonly believed that eating food in the Underworld meant that you had to return for one third of the year.<sup>128</sup> Pomegranates are thus related to Persephone, too.<sup>129</sup> Its fecundity aspect also accords well with Persephone's other role of spring and growth, so the pomegranate can be linked to Persephone 'on earth', so to speak (cf.

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<sup>124</sup> Leonhard Schmitz, 'Artemis' in Smith, *Dictionary*, vol. 1, 376.

<sup>125</sup> Rf. section discussing Dionysus.

<sup>126</sup> Pausanias, *Description*, 3.24.8.

<sup>127</sup> Baumann, *Greek Wild Flowers*, 50; cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, 4.601.

<sup>128</sup> *Homeric Hymns*, 2.393ff.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. footnote 85.

plates 22–23). Her return from the underworld to earth (which was rarely ever granted) symbolised immortality for which reason she was often depicted on sarcophagi. This idea can be extended to jewellery, where depictions of pomegranates relate to Aphrodite (and Persephone on earth) and fecundity on the one hand, and to Persephone and immortality on the other hand.

Upon Persephone's annual return, her mother Demeter forgets her grief over her daughter's abduction, stops mourning and takes up her duties once again, bringing about the seasonal change from winter to spring wherefore Persephone symbolises vegetation, too. Demeter, goddess of agriculture and fertility and therefore also of food in general,<sup>130</sup> had forced the return of her daughter Persephone, or Kore ('Maiden' or 'Daughter') as Persephone is called in her filial role,<sup>131</sup> by neglecting her duties as goddess of the crops. In order not to let mankind die of hunger Zeus had to put pressure on his brother Hades to release Persephone.

Demeter is not only mother of the earth but she experiences loss, anger, grief and joy in her role as mother of Persephone. In Greek art, mother and daughter are commonly represented together and in mutual understanding, a relationship singular to these goddesses.<sup>132</sup> Demeter's maternal character is therefore especially appealing to mothers and mothers-to-be.

Since agricultural societies need laws and social institutions, they can only thrive at times of peace and social stability. Demeter is therefore also a peace-loving, law-giving deity ('Demeter Thesmophoros')<sup>133</sup> whereas in her role as fertility-goddess she is, by extension, also responsible for marriages: her priestess initiated young married couples into their new duties.<sup>134</sup>

Neither Persephone nor Demeter are often depicted themselves in jewellery, so the plaques from the Great Bliznitsa (plates 42–43) are of special interest. More usually, reference is made to the goddesses with the depiction of plants connected to the deities, such as the corn ear for Demeter, the poppy for both goddesses, but especially so the asphodel.

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<sup>130</sup> *Homeric Hymns*, 2.4, 470ff.; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 5.342.

<sup>131</sup> For a discussion of the split personality and other aspects of Persephone/Kore see Zuntz, *Persephone*, esp. 75–83.

<sup>132</sup> Zuntz, *Persephone*, 75.

<sup>133</sup> Virgil, *Aeneid*, 4.56–58, 8.15.1; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 5.343.

<sup>134</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, 138b.

The asphodel fields are home to the spirits,<sup>135</sup> said to grow in the Elysian Fields, that is, the land of the blessed in the underworld,<sup>136</sup> wherefore it was sacred to Hades and Persephone. Fitting the drab circumstances of death, the plant has greyish-green leaves, greyish-white flowers, and a foul smell.<sup>137</sup> Furthermore, its underground tubers are not much harmed by fire; it is therefore quickly restored to life and often the only plant for some time to thrive again in a field of ashes.<sup>138</sup> Its lily-like flowers, food for the dead, can be found in a necklace (plate 44) and fragments of a diadem said to be from Kyme.<sup>139</sup>

Wheat or barley ears are synonymous with agriculture and fertility, and therefore sacred to Demeter. They do not occur in jewellery with any regularity. The same applies to the poppy, although poppy flowers are depicted in a wreath particularly rich in symbolism, now in Munich (plate 37). The flower was apparently planted intentionally among the crops to revitalise the soil,<sup>140</sup> but also grew (and grows) naturally in the wheat fields. For this reason as well as its innumerable seeds symbolising fertility, it was a natural choice of Demeter while its sleep-instilling properties also related to Persephone. Poppy seeds were a substantial ingredient of the wedding cake.<sup>141</sup>

### ***Athena***

Like Artemis, Athena was a virgin-goddess. She was the child of Zeus, the most powerful of the gods, and Metis, the wisest among the gods, whom Zeus had swallowed when she was pregnant. Athena was subsequently born from Zeus' head, clad in full armour,<sup>142</sup> harmoniously blending power and wisdom. She is, nevertheless, most commonly referred to as motherless, and she claims herself that 'mother have I none that gave me birth, and in all things, save wedlock, I am for the male with all my soul'.<sup>143</sup> Although she represents masculinity, she has absorbed aggression and, adding

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<sup>135</sup> Homer, *Odyssey*, 24.13-14.

<sup>136</sup> Theocritus, 26.4; Homer, *Odyssey*, 11.539, 573, 24.13.

<sup>137</sup> Pausanias, *Description*, 10.38.2.

<sup>138</sup> Rf. [http://www.maltawildplants.com/ASPH/Asphodelus\\_aestivus.html](http://www.maltawildplants.com/ASPH/Asphodelus_aestivus.html)

<sup>139</sup> Now in the British Museum, London, GR 1877.9-10.2-8 (not illustrated).

<sup>140</sup> Rf. <http://www.theoi.com/Flora2.html>, s.v. 'poppy', the reference to Servius, however, could not be found. It is unclear if the source of Servius only relates to the myth of Mekon or to the whole entry. The reference is nevertheless included as the website is found to be widely accurate, well researched and academically grounded.

<sup>141</sup> Blech, *Studien zum Kranz*, 80 n. 34.

<sup>142</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony*, 886-894, 924; Pindar, *Olympian Odes*, 7.35-38.

<sup>143</sup> Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 736-737.

mercy and wisdom, transformed it into 'a compelling strength that belongs to woman as much as to man',<sup>144</sup> and therefore presents womankind with the assurance that they are as capable as is man – even though their domain might differ. Athena's art is that of persuasion: equally important to the politician as to a woman who has no other weapons than her words. Metis has left her legacy of the wisdom of the soul, namely intuition (which women to this day claim their particular asset), but by denying Metis as her mother, Athena denies this obscure, unidentifiable, feminine virtue. She is chiefly an ethical deity: rather than representing a particular aspect of nature she is concerned with the preservation of law and order, the state and social institutions, which brings her, at least by extension, into the realm of marriage: in Athens, her priestess visited the newly wed couple.<sup>145</sup> Most importantly, still, she was patron-goddess of the arts and crafts, and invented every kind of work involving woman such as weaving and potting.<sup>146</sup> Homer relates how Athena exchanged her finely wrought robe, which she had made herself, for the armour of war,<sup>147</sup> a poignant incident showing that Athena combines the characteristic excellences of both sexes, namely those of house and needlework *versus* politics and fearlessness in battles.

In the context of jewellery, Athena is sometimes depicted herself (plates 45–46), but the serpent, her most famous sacred animal, plays a more important role.<sup>148</sup> It symbolises wisdom and death but also represents eternal renewal due to the regular shedding of its skin. This chthonic aspect is important in the context of jewellery, often worn when buried: admittedly coiling snakes are easily fashioned into armlets, bracelets and rings (for example, plate 47) but its protective power without doubt played an important role in the abundant use of serpents in jewellery. The cockerel is sacred to her because of its readiness to fight, and because its cry calls to work the craftsmen.<sup>149</sup> In the context of jewellery, however, I believe the cockerel to be more relevant to Eros.<sup>150</sup>

Her sacred plant was the olive tree. Athena emerged as the winner in the contest with Poseidon for the patronage of Attica: the Athenians deemed Athena's gift of the

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<sup>144</sup> Stassinopoulos, *Gods of Greece*, 140.

<sup>145</sup> Joseph Heckenbach, 'Hochzeit', in *RE*, vol. VIII.2, 2131.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Homer, *Odyssey*, 7.109–111, 20.72.

<sup>147</sup> Cf. Homer, *Iliad*, 5.733–777.

<sup>148</sup> Both the owl and the serpent were Athena's sacred animals. The owl, too, is a symbol of wisdom; in flight she brings luck and is a symbol of victory while she can bring misfortune and death when seated (Keller, *Tierwelt*, 2:40–41).

<sup>149</sup> Pausanias, *Description*, 6.26.3.

<sup>150</sup> Unless, of course, the excavation context explicitly indicates otherwise.

olive tree (from whose edible fruit could be deduced a very versatile oil for cooking and cleaning) more useful than Poseidon's gift of a saltwater spring. Olive wreaths (plate 48) decorated the houses of the bride and bridegroom,<sup>151</sup> and are frequently used as funerary wreaths (due to their evergreen leaves) but were also given as prizes to the victors of the Olympic Games.

### *Dionysus – Maenads – Satyrs*

The only male deity to be represented (or alluded to) with regularity is Dionysus.<sup>152</sup> As the god of wine (and thus also of drinking and drunkenness), dance and ecstasy, he stands for the productive, overflowing and intoxicating powers of nature. He is the most versatile and elusive god in the Olympian pantheon, thought to be both mature and young, masculine and effeminate.<sup>153</sup> He brings pleasure, liberation, renewal and ecstasy but also violence, madness and destruction. His popularity in jewellery can be explained by the freedom he grants to women in his cult (even though this freedom was ritualised). Here women can let loose; repression and bondage of any kind have no room in the Dionysian cult. Upper-class women celebrated maenadic rituals in honour of Dionysus once a year in the wild mountains where they, quite literally, let their hair down, took their shoes off, sacrificed, and danced at night to high-pitched music. They were wearing panther skins and carrying special staves (*thyrsos*). The *thyrsos* is made of long fennel stalks topped by a pinecone and entwined with ivy. The pinecone with its inherent seeds is itself a symbol of fertility, while its shape on top of the staff turns the *thyrsos* into a phallic symbol. The evergreen ivy, on the other hand, stands for immortality but also, as so often in Greek dualism, for death because it destroys and starves any tree by withdrawing its moisture.<sup>154</sup> Inspired by Dionysus to ritual frenzy the maenads jumped, cried, whirled around until they collapsed to the ground in ecstasy.<sup>155</sup> Silens and satyrs, grotesque hedonists, unrestrained in their desire for sex and wine, and yet immortal companions of

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<sup>151</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, 755a.

<sup>152</sup> For a differentiation between the mythic, the cultic, and the comic aspects and their respective representation see Carpenter, *Dionysian Imagery*, passim.

<sup>153</sup> Such adverse traditions have led some authors such as Cicero to assume that there were originally several deities who were then assimilated into one Dionysus (cf. *On the Nature of the Gods*, 3.23).

<sup>154</sup> Rf. Theophrastus, *Enquiry into Plants*, 3.18.9; Theophrastus is speaking of the black ivy as opposed to the other variety, the white ivy.

<sup>155</sup> Dionysus grants release and ecstasy but if perverted this may end in violence and madness: cf. the killing of Pentheus by his mother Agave (Euripides, *Bacchae*, 1114ff).

Dionysus, are 'cruder than men and yet somehow wiser, combining mischief with wisdom, lewdness with skill in music, animalism with divinity.'<sup>156</sup>

Dionysus was also patron of the theatre where comedy provoked the audience to hysterical laughter whereas tragedy evoked an intense feeling of elation following emotional tumult (*katharsis*). Drama is, so to speak, the civilised form of Dionysian ritual made accessible to a wide audience. Dionysus, however, is also connected with the mysterious dominion of the dead: his initiates are said to achieve a blessed state after death.<sup>157</sup>

The bull also plays a role in Dionysian imagery as symbol of civilisation and fertility:<sup>158</sup> girls called upon Dionysus that they might not remain virgins – ' *ataurotoi*' (*tauros* 'bull,' also a euphemism for penis).<sup>159</sup> The panther is his favourite animal because it leaps as gracefully as a Bacchant,<sup>160</sup> but other felines, especially the lynx, as well as the serpent are also associated with Dionysus. Turned into a ram as a child by Zeus,<sup>161</sup> and a common sacrifice to the god, the ram also is a symbol of Dionysus, which he shares with Aphrodite.<sup>162</sup> The goat, though sacred to Zeus, generally symbolises male sexuality and is hence associated with Dionysus and, especially so, with his followers the satyrs as well as the minor god Pan. Dionysus, like Aphrodite, may also be represented by the dolphin on account of the magical transformation of the Tyrrhenian pirates: they had abducted the god with the intention to sell him as a slave; once out in the open sea, Dionysus turned them into dolphins.

The grape vine and the ivy were unanimously his sacred plants, and in his chthonian role, he is also associated with asphodel, usually regarded as the plant of Persephone and Hades. On account of the *thyrsos*, pinecones as well as fennel were linked to Dionysus, who was also crowned with a fennel wreath.<sup>163</sup>

In jewellery, Dionysus is more often alluded to rather than depicted himself, although a fine diadem with the relief of Dionysus and Ariadne survives (plate 49). Maenads are often identified by their ivy-wreath (plate 50). An Etruscan ring shows a dancing maenad with head thrown back, clutching a jug and bowl in her hands (plate

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<sup>156</sup> Richard A.S. Seaford 'satyrs and silens' in *OCD*, 1361.

<sup>157</sup> Cole, 'New Evidence for the Mysteries of Dionysus', 223-238. Cf. Pausanias, *Description*, 8.25.3.

<sup>158</sup> Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 4.4.2.

<sup>159</sup> Keller, *Tierwelt*, vol. 1, 367, 365.

<sup>160</sup> Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines*, 1.19.32-34. A particularly beautiful mosaic from Pella<sup>160</sup> dated circa 325-300 BC shows the god riding a leaping panther and carrying a *thyrsos* staff.

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Leonhard Schmitz, 'Dionysus' in Smith, *Dictionary*, vol. 1, 1046; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 182.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Virgil, *Georgics*, 2.380, 395; Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.357.

<sup>163</sup> Demosthenes, *On the Crown*, 18.260.



51). Their ugly features and a wreathed forehead distinguish silens,<sup>164</sup> whereas horned satyrs (plate 52) have a specific significance in funerary art since they conducted mystic expiation and initiation.<sup>165</sup> His sacred bull (plate 53), lynx (plate 54), goat (plate 55), ivy (plates 56–57), grape vine (plate 58), pine cone (plate 59) and, as will be shown, fennel seeds (plate 60) all figure in the ornamental vocabulary of Greek jewellery.

### **Motifs of Protection, Seduction, Abduction and Desertion**

The sphinx, a hybrid creature with the body of a lion and a human head (male or female), was already in Egypt a symbol of protection: lying, with a male head and no wings it personified the king. During the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC, the sphinx received wings and a female head and, now standing, was a very popular gatekeeper, still retaining its guarding function. In Minoan and Mycenaean art as well as on Crete and mainland Greece, the female, winged sphinx continued to be a monumental and funerary guardian spirit until as late as the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, initially lying and later also sitting.<sup>166</sup> Although the sphinx was a very popular ornamental motif, its protective powers are easily transferred when used in jewellery (plates 61–62), and like other monstrous motifs such as the gorgoneion, it protected from the evil eye.

In ancient literature, women are often portrayed as potent seductresses who cause men to lose their head. Man's sexual dependency lead to their destruction. The song of the sirens, for example, instilled an overwhelming yearning into the hearts of sailors, driving them onto the rocks. The sirens' meadow is full of mouldering corpses and they are furthermore associated with death because of their presence at Persephone's abduction.<sup>167</sup> They also appear with Dionysus and the satyrs, and whereas early sirens have claws like a bird of prey, they later become beautiful, melancholic creatures,

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<sup>164</sup> For example, on the ring said to be from Sicily, now in the Altes Museum, Berlin, inv. FG285 = Misc.8419 (not illustrated).

<sup>165</sup> Plato, *Laws*, 815c.

<sup>166</sup> Cf. Herbig, 'Sphinx' in *RE*, vol. III.A2, 1749; Albert Schachter, 'sphinx' in *OCD*, 1435.

<sup>167</sup> Subsequently they are turned into birds with girls' faces either in their search for Persephone (Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, 4.896-898; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 5.552-563), or as punishment for their failure to guard her (Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 141).

representative of music almost as much as the Muses.<sup>168</sup> (The playing of and dancing to music was generally a popular motif, especially for earrings.) The sirens are an allegory for the lust of the flesh, the insatiable desire for knowledge, the dangers of flattery and later also for celestial music drawing souls upwards to heaven. They are therefore perfectly suitable to be depicted in jewellery for both the living and the dead<sup>169</sup> (plates 63–64).

The threat of abduction was especially relevant to women at a marriageable age: they symbolise 'the removal of the woman from the home of her parents to the bridegroom's house'.<sup>170</sup> As girls often could not choose their husbands, the parting was not always an entirely happy event for the young girls, especially if the new home was far away from that of her parents. For example, Persephone's abduction at the hands of Hades was seen as, among many other things, 'a polarized articulation of some perceptions pertaining to marriage from the viewpoint of the girl,'<sup>171</sup> a rather gloomy interpretation of marriage likened to a life spent in dark confinement. Nevertheless, it can certainly be argued that the carefree life as a girl amongst family and friends was indeed brought to an abrupt end, and that a new life as wife and mother in a (possibly) new community was an event worth depicting in jewellery. Here, the rape of Thetis by Peleus is one example, but even Zeus in the shape of an eagle carrying off Ganymede occurs (plate 65-66).

The fate of being deserted was also worth artistic treatment: the waiting lover or wife was represented by Penelope who had to wait twenty years for her husband Odysseus to return (plate 67). Ariadne, on the other hand, was sympathetic to those who, like her, were deserted by their lovers – shown with Dionysus she is, however, a reminder of a happy match/end (cf. plate 49). On another point, the violation of Cassandra reminded of the potential dangers to which a young woman was exposed (plate 68).

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<sup>168</sup> Nicholas J. Richardson, 'Sirens' in *OCD*, 1413. Plato has eight celestial Sirens producing the harmony of the spheres (*Republic*, 617b).

<sup>169</sup> Wolf Rudolph sees them as 'companions of the soul, both during life and after death', *A Golden Legacy*, 198.

<sup>170</sup> Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 39.

<sup>171</sup> Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, 'Persephone/Kore' in *OCD*, 1142.

## Forms

### *Ornaments and Leafage:*

#### *Amphora – Astragals – Palmette – Rosette – Lotus – Oak – Beech – Laurel*

Popular ornamental motifs include the amphora, astragals, the palmette, the rosette, and the lotus. Amphorae were traditionally used to store wine, oil and other foodstuffs thus symbolising prosperity and abundance. A slim form (the *loutrophoros*) served to fetch water for brides to bathe in.<sup>172</sup> Those who died unmarried were given *loutrophoroi* as grave markers,<sup>173</sup> whereas a golden amphora also served as an urn for the ashes of the dead.<sup>174</sup> Amphorae in jewellery therefore have various meanings: at the simplest level, their elegant form is very decorative; secondly, they are an important symbol of wealth and abundance; thirdly they are an important part of every household and depending on the shape have specific use, alluding to the female sphere of the house and certain connotations depending on their shape; and lastly the material of gold jewellery depicting amphorae as well as certain forms echoes those urns used in the burial context. In jewellery, amphorae can take on various forms: ranging from the fairly basic shape (yet the goldsmith took care to include a lid, plate 69), over more elaborate versions (plates 70–71) to distinctive forms such as a *calyx krater* (plate 72) or, indeed, a *loutrophoros* (plate 73).

Astragals have already been mentioned when discussing the imagery connected with Aphrodite. They are small bones from the hind legs of sheep or goats. Playing dice with astragals was one of the most popular games for both children and adults, at drinking parties or while guarding the herds (cf. plate 36). The game was played with four astragals, making possible thirty-five combinations of values. The throw with the highest combination was called 'Aphrodite', although not every throw was called after a deity. Astragals were also employed in prophecy with five astragals resulting in fifty-six possible combinations. Each was given the name of a god whose persona subsequently influenced the character of the prophecy.<sup>175</sup> As a good-luck charm there

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<sup>172</sup> Cf. Euripides, *Phoenician Women*, 346-348.

<sup>173</sup> Konrad Wernicke, 'Amphora' in *RE*, vol. I.2, 1972.

<sup>174</sup> Homer, *Iliad*, 23.92; *Odyssey*, 24.74.

<sup>175</sup> August Mau, 'Astragalos' and Riess 'Astragomanteia' in *RE*, vol. II.2, 1793-1795.

were not uncommon in jewellery: they appear set in a ring (plate 74) but also rendered in gold and strung as a necklace from the 7<sup>th</sup> or 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>176</sup>

Palmette, rosette, and lotus, on the other hand, are stylised forms of the palm leaf, the rose (which is discussed in connection with Aphrodite above), and the lily, respectively. Leto gave birth to Artemis and Apollo under a palm tree on Delos.<sup>177</sup> From this tree, Theseus broke off branches for his comrades when they celebrated the victory over the Minotaur.<sup>178</sup> Later, the Athenians dedicated palm twigs to the victor of the Panathenaic Games and the palm tree became ultimately a universal symbol of both athletic and spiritual victory, a symbolism also inherited by the Christians.<sup>179</sup> The lily, too, was to be adopted by the Christian Church, often associated with Mary. Already in Greece, the lily symbolised innocence and chastity on account of her white purity. According to mythology, Hera breast-fed Heracles whilst asleep; drops of milk thus spilt brought the lily into existence.<sup>180</sup> Ironically, Aphrodite then gave her the pungent smell to humiliate the unsullied flower.<sup>181</sup> In its stylised form, the lily is known as lotus, probably because the Egyptians, uncontested masters of stylisation, called the lily 'lotus'.<sup>182</sup> Not only played the lotus an apotropaic role but it was also an erotic symbol.<sup>183</sup>

Three further trees are significant, namely the oak, the beech and the laurel tree. The oak tree was known for its strength and tall growth although it was also prone to lightning: the tall, green trees were thus sacred to Zeus. The dark trees, however, were dedicated to Pan and deities of the underworld,<sup>184</sup> which is of interest since funerary wreaths would often feature oak leaves. Acorns were popular as pendants on necklaces (plate 75). In antiquity, they were a very common staple, and the sweet variety, when roasted, provides a snack even to this day.<sup>185</sup> Thus, they were a symbol not only of fertility but also of nourishment. According to Gertrud Platz-Horster, '[funerary]

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<sup>176</sup> Now in the Burton Y. Berry Collection at the Indiana University Art Museum, 69.107.15.A (not illustrated), illustrated in Rudolph, *A Golden Legacy*, 63.

<sup>177</sup> *Homeric Hymn*, 3.117.

<sup>178</sup> Plutarch, *Life of Theseus*, 21.

<sup>179</sup> Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, 274ff.

<sup>180</sup> *Idem*, 255.

<sup>181</sup> Nicander, *Alexipharmaca* 406-409.

<sup>182</sup> Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, 226.

<sup>183</sup> Koch-Harnack, *Erotische Symbole*, esp. 72-77.

<sup>184</sup> Christine Walde, 'Eiche' in *Pauly*, vol. 3, 905.

<sup>185</sup> *Idem*.

wreaths of oak leaves were confined to the area controlled by the Macedonians'<sup>186</sup> (plate 76).

Beechnut pendants are very popular with fringe necklaces (plate 77), but while Propertius links the beech tree with Pan,<sup>187</sup> Pliny suggests Zeus – although it remains unclear if Pliny's '*aesculus*' is the same as the beech tree (or even oak for that matter).<sup>188</sup> Its attribution can therefore not be concluded.

Laurel, on the other hand, was closely connected with Apollo and his cult: due to its penetrating scent of its leaves and the decay-inhibiting aroma of the branches, the laurel was the tree of purification.<sup>189</sup> It was also said to have clairvoyant characteristics so that the Pythia, Apollo's priestess at Delphi, would pronounce the oracle whilst sitting on a laurel-wreathed stool, chewing laurel leaves.<sup>190</sup> This power was also to be instilled into the poets and bards who carried a laurel stick during their performance.<sup>191</sup> The victors of the Pythian Games held in honour of Apollo were crowned with laurel,<sup>192</sup> which became the symbol of honour, fame, freedom and peace (plate 78).

### ***The Heracles Knot***<sup>193</sup>

In religion and folklore the knot was believed to have apotropaic powers, that is, it is able to tie evil spirits and render them harmless. The Heracles knot was, although not impossible to untie, the sturdiest knot, which would get stronger the more one tried to untie it. It was commonly believed to fend off disease and used to dress wounds.<sup>194</sup> The binding power was, of course, also used in the magic of love: Zeus, for example,

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<sup>186</sup> Platz-Horster, *Ancient Gold Jewellery*, 58.

<sup>187</sup> 'If trees known any love, Beech and Pine, beloved of the god of Arcady [Pan].' Propertius, *Elegies*, 1.18.19-20.

<sup>188</sup> Cf. note in the edition by John Bostock (*et al.*), *The Natural History* (London 1855), accessed on <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/ptext?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.02.0137>. The original could not be traced.

<sup>189</sup> Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, 3.1; cf. Pausanias, *Description*, 2.31.8.

<sup>190</sup> Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 6; *Homeric Hymns*, 3.396.

<sup>191</sup> Hesiod, *Theogony*, 30; cf. Pausanias, *Description*, 9.30.3; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.557-61; Horace, *Odes*, 3.30.15-16, 4.2.9.

<sup>192</sup> Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, 3.1; cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.449-51. In Roman times, the triumphant general would wear a laurel wreath and already in antiquity a theory was put forth that this was because the general had to purify himself of the bloodshed; cf. Masurius frag. 19 Huschke. For a counter-argument see Pliny, *Natural History*, 15.135; cf. Reid, 'Human Sacrifices at Rome', esp. 45-9.

<sup>193</sup> For a thorough discussion (in Latin) see Heckenbach, 'De nuditate', 104ff.; Karl Keyßner, 'Nodus' in *RE*, vol. XVII.1, 807-809.

<sup>194</sup> Keyßner, 'Nodus' in *RE*, vol. XVII.1, 807; for Heracles as patron of healing and protector from diseases see Otto Gruppe, 'Heracles', in *RE*, supplement vol. 3, 1013-1015.

bound his mother Rhea with a Heracles knot when he loved her.<sup>195</sup> For Roman brides, it is attested that they closed their dresses with a Heracles knot as a good omen: untied by the bridegroom he should then be as fortunate as Heracles/Hercules who had fathered seventy sons.<sup>196</sup> The act of untying the knot was not only symbolic for removing the barriers towards sexual intercourse but also marked the transition from *parthenos*, who had been protected by the knot against evil spirits (and conception), into *gyne* who, in order to ease conception and childbirth,<sup>197</sup> would avoid knots in the future. The Heracles knot was especially popular in jewellery during the 4<sup>th</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries BC (plates 79–80) when Heracles was believed to protect universally against danger.<sup>198</sup> Pfrommer interprets the rise in popularity during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods of the Heracles knot in jewellery as a result of Macedonian influence.<sup>199</sup> Rudolph, however, argues that Pfrommer's interpretation

seems to be overly literal [...] since it is directed only toward the Heracles knot's use in gold jewelry [*sic*]. If there is any credence to the use of the knot as a Macedonian royal symbol, it is at best secondary. [...] The Macedonian royal house may have taken a certain pride in the knot as a symbol of its dynastic heritage; but in doing so, they tied themselves into the already existing popular perception of the knot. Its use in gold jewelry [*sic*] must be seen more as a result of a fashion trend, not as political propaganda expressed through jewelry [*sic*].<sup>200</sup>

Although I do agree with Rudolph that this basic square knot, well known to a nation of farmers and sea farers, invites trust (the harder one pulls, the tighter it becomes), and that it is a popular symbol on account of its mythology and ascribed amuletic powers rather than political propaganda, we should not forget that a 'fashion

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<sup>195</sup> Athenagoras, *Legatio*, 20.3.

<sup>196</sup> Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, 45 n. 1; cf. in Rome, 'the new bride is girded with a belt which her husband unties in the marriage bed; [...] thus her husband is girded and bound along with her. Her husband loosened this binding, which was tied in a Herculean knot for the sake of good omen, so that he himself should be as fortunate in begetting children as was Hercules, who begot seventy sons', Festus, 55.63L, trans. Sebesta, in 'Symbolism', 52 n. 23.

<sup>197</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, 3.257–258.

<sup>198</sup> For literary evidence of 'Heracles Alexikakos' ('protector against evil') see Georg Wentzel, 'Alexikakos' in *RE*, vol. I.2, 1464.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. Pfrommer, 'Untersuchungen': Pfrommer argues that the Heracles knot could have been the appropriate symbol of the royal house of Macedonia on account of their dynastic/genealogic origins tracing themselves back to the Heraklids, the descendants of (Doric) Heracles.

<sup>200</sup> Rudolph, *A Golden Legacy*, 138.

trend' can also be initiated (or at least reinforced) by Macedonian royalty. Furthermore, this fashion needs to be by no means restricted to jewellery; therefore Rudolph's argument that the Heracles knot 'was always a popular ornament, represented in various media'<sup>201</sup> is only partly pertinent.

### ***Postscriptum:***

#### **Considering the Iconography of Etruscan Jewellery (600 – 300 BC)<sup>202</sup>**

The origin of the Etruscans has been subject of much debate. According to current knowledge, however, they are believed to have been mostly native Italians inhabiting central Italy (modern Tuscany). They developed and administered their natural resources so skilfully that they accumulated extreme riches.

From around 750 BC, the Greeks had founded settlements in the coastal regions of Southern Italy. This paved the way for cultural interchange between Greece and Etruria until about 650 BC, when Greece started having a stronger impact on Etruscan culture. Notwithstanding, in around 600 BC, Etruria was one of the most powerful sea and land forces in the Mediterranean world and Etruscan art was at its peak.

Etruscan jewellery can be divided into two periods: early Etruscan jewellery dates from about 700–400 BC. This period was marked by abundance and a vast variety of jewellery executed with technical perfection: the Etruscans' skills in the technique of granulation, probably originally taken from the Phoenicians, far exceeded that of any other Mediterranean culture, and it was used not only for details but entire scenes and patterns were created with minute gold spheres.<sup>203</sup> Jewellery at this time was freely worn, although comparatively little has survived. Late Etruscan jewellery dates from about 400–250 BC, by which time the Etruscan culture had declined substantially and was then absorbed by Rome. Jewellery of this period is characterised by large convex

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<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>202</sup> For a good introduction to Etruscan mythology see Bonfante and Swaddling, *Etruscan Myths*.

<sup>203</sup> The Etruscans were famous for their masterly granulation technique, which they frequently employed in their jewellery. It involved covering a surface with minute gold granules: both the technique of producing such regularly shaped and sized granules of such minute size (many measure 0.25 mm, some as little as 0.14 mm) as well as the technique employed of soldering these onto the surface without them melting or loosing their shape has long been a mystery. For a discussion of the possibilities of the production of the granules and an explanation of colloid hard soldering see Nestler and Formigli, *Granulazione Etrusca: Un'antica arte orafa*.

surfaces of sheet gold with simple embossed patterns. Quality, artistic imagination and repertoire deteriorated greatly, closely linked to the political and economical decline of Etruria.

Even though the best of Etruscan jewellery is highly creative and intricate, much of it is not relevant to our present discussion because it is often abstract, unless it has come under Greek (mythological) influence. The iconography of figurative, floral or animal representations is therefore considered to be within the framework of Greek thought discussed in the previous chapter. Although not directly relating to the symbolism and iconography it is nevertheless worth noting that the Etruscans culturally valued and artistically emphasised individuality, so their jewellery is characterised by a certain liveliness – human faces and heads are rendered with personality as early as about 500 BC (plate 82), in which they were ahead of the Greeks.

The globular and comparatively simple forms of late Etruscan jewellery added a more abstract dimension to jewellery design, which was to be adopted and developed by Roman jewellery. The characteristic Etruscan *bullā*, a type of pendant with convex, often plain surfaces worn as an amulet, indicates a prophylactic use of jewellery, which is paralleled by the Hellenistic belief in the powers of, for example, the Heracles knot.

## God(s)

### *Achelous*

The river-god Achelous is only a minor deity; he is most popularly represented in Etruscan and South Italian jewellery (plates 81–82), although representations of Achelous in Greek jewellery from further East do exist (for example, plate 60). The horned god of the greatest and most ancient river in Greece, he represents sweet water in general and, by extension, all nourishment.<sup>204</sup> He was therefore implicitly also connected with the cult of Dionysus because the Greeks drank their wine diluted with water.<sup>205</sup> The god of wine and dance may arguably be alluded to in the Achelous necklace from Pantikapaion (plate 60) by its fennel-seed pendants.

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<sup>204</sup> In an arid climate, rivers from which an irrigation system can be deducted are vital for any form of agriculture.

<sup>205</sup> Rf. Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 153.



Achelous competed with Heracles for the hand of Deianeira. During this contest, Achelous changed first into a serpent and then into a bull. Heracles broke off one of his horns, which Achelous subsequently exchanged against the horn of Amalthea, known as the Horn of Plenty or *cornucopia* (plate 83),<sup>206</sup> on which account Achelous also symbolises life and abundance. A rational explanation of this myth has Heracles diverting the perpetually overflowing banks of the bendy (thus 'snake-like'), roaring (thus 'bull-like') river (therefore confining Achelous to his bed), and gaining fertile land for cultivation. In doing so, he gained the favour of Oeneus, Deianeira's father, who gave him his daughter for his wife.<sup>207</sup>

Having lost Deianeira to Heracles, Achelous also became synonymous with the miserable lover (or unrequited love).<sup>208</sup>

### Form(s)

#### *An Etruscan Speciality: the bulla*

The *bulla* was an Etruscan particularity that can be traced back to the Geometric Age.<sup>209</sup> Taking its name from the similarly shaped water-bubble, the *bulla* was originally worn by Etruscan kings,<sup>210</sup> and in Roman times, also by upper-class men, women as well as children as evidenced by grave finds. Both the form as well as the gold was thought to be protective against supernatural influences.<sup>211</sup> In Etruria, the *bulla* was often worn in multiples strung on wire or leather as a necklace or bracelet.<sup>212</sup> [See also below 'Roman *bulla*'.]

The *bulla* is a lenticular<sup>213</sup> capsule made of leather, silver, bronze, or, for the more affluent, gold,<sup>214</sup> containing an amulet, which was 'often phallic in nature.'<sup>215</sup> Some fillings, however, have turned out to be of hair,<sup>216</sup> or of resin, which was used to hold

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<sup>206</sup> Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 9.87-88.

<sup>207</sup> Strabo, *Geography*, 10.2.19, Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 4.35.3-4.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. Propertius, *Elegies*, 2.34.33ff.; Statius, *Thebaid*, 4.107-109.

<sup>209</sup> August Mau, 'Bulla' in *RE*, vol. III, 1049-50.

<sup>210</sup> Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*, 25.5.

<sup>211</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 33.25.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. August Mau, 'Bulla' in *RE*, vol. III, 1050.

<sup>213</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, 288b.

<sup>214</sup> August Mau, 'Bulla' in *RE*, vol. III, 1047, 1051.

<sup>215</sup> Sebesta, 'Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman', 46; cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, 28.39;

H. Herter, 'Phallus' in *RE*, vol. XIX.2, 1733.

<sup>216</sup> Cf. August Mau, 'Bulla' in *RE*, vol. III, 1050.

and fix delicate perfumes.<sup>217</sup> The *bullā*'s bulbous shape reflects the particularly Etruscan taste for large convex surfaces. It is usually between four and six centimetres in diameter and often the surfaces were figuratively decorated (plates 84–85) with a Gorgon or other monster as a protection against evil influences.

Together with the Heracles knot and possibly the Achelous mask, the *bullā* represents an apotropaic and prophylactic use of jewellery, which on the one hand is in accordance with the religion of older civilisations such as Egypt but reflects, on the other hand, the growth of superstition among civilisations to come such as that of Rome.

## **B. Rome (27 BC – 313 AD)**

In Roman jewellery, colour gained again importance in the history of early Western jewellery: after the highly polychrome jewellery of ancient Egypt followed the relatively monochrome jewellery of Greece and Etruria.<sup>218</sup> The conquest of the East and the subsequent establishment of trade routes at the hands of Alexander the Great, however, opened up trade with countries rich in gemstones, particularly India, during the Hellenistic Age. Nevertheless, goldwork still remained the primary means of adornment in Hellenistic jewellery, accented by coloured enamel or the occasional gemstone (mostly the red garnet). This was not so at Imperial Rome: the Roman, both man and woman, had a strong preference for the use of coloured stones as well as pearls and the trading business was thriving to satisfy Rome's growing and seemingly insatiable lust for the extravagant. For the first time, the hardest stones, diamond and sapphire, were used, while the coveted emerald was often used in its natural crystal shape of hexagonal prisms. Jewellery became prized for its intrinsic value more than for its craftsmanship, and the craze for precious materials went hand in hand with a drastic decline in quality of workmanship: the refinement of Greek jewellery with its

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<sup>217</sup> For an Etruscan *bullā* filled with resin see Hanfmann, 'Daedalos in Etruria', 189: the resin was found to be labdanum, which is still used for the same purpose; cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, 13.2.7.

<sup>218</sup> Even if their jewellery was highlighted here and there with coloured enamel and deep red garnet the overall emphasis was, as we have seen, on the working of the gold.

attention to detail for design and execution gave way to more showy, substantial and less detailed goldwork. The obsession for luxury as well as the hierarchic structure of Roman society turned jewellery often into mere status symbols.

Artistically deeply indebted to Greece, jewellery of the early Empire was more or less a continuation of the Hellenistic style. Gradually, however, other influences, notably those of late Etruria and Western Asia, developed into a style which anticipated that of the Byzantine age, particularly in respect to a form of gold fretwork called *opus interrabile* (cf. plate 95). Once Rome had become a major power in the Mediterranean, 'the pupil far outstripped the master – at least in one respect, barbaric display.'<sup>219</sup>

Traditionally, jewellery on men would identify them as foreigners, or at least originating in one of the provinces, often classifying them as servants or slaves. During the Republic, the Roman citizen took great pride in his rustic roots and in the Roman down-to-earth approach to life: a man wearing jewellery was looked-down on as being very effeminate, and an extravagant individual would have quickly been reprimanded by his peers. To curb luxurious tendencies, several laws were passed which designated exactly how much one was allowed to display in public.<sup>220</sup> Pliny expresses his surprise at the absence of a mere ring on statues even in the case of the Tarquinii, 'considering that they were originally from Greece, a country from which the use of gold rings was first introduced'.<sup>221</sup>

However, with the inauguration of the Empire in 27 BC, the monarchy allowed for much more indulgence and the old austerity was quickly forgotten: emperors would give into their whims without apparent qualms, and they in turn became a role model as to what was fashionable. During the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, for example, men developed a taste for necklaces and pectorals. At the same time, superstition was on the rise and amuletic jewellery was increasingly popular.

In Rome, *religio* was distinguished from *superstitio* in that superstitious people were scared of the gods and had an irrational fear of demons. While the superstitious feared the gods like enemies, the religious honoured and respected them like their parents.<sup>222</sup> According to Plutarch,

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<sup>219</sup> Ball, *A Roman Book on Precious Stones*, 23.

<sup>220</sup> For example, the *lex Oppia* of 215 BC.

<sup>221</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 33.4. He continues, 'though even at the present day [prior to 79 BC] the people of Lacedaemon are in the habit of wearing rings made of iron.'

<sup>222</sup> Cf. Schmitz, "Alles Unheil halte fern!", with n. 4.

Superstition, as the very name (dread of deities) [*deisidaimonia*] indicates, is an emotional idea and an assumption productive of a fear which utterly humbles and crushes a man, for he thinks that there are gods, but that they are the cause of pain and injury. [...] For the superstitious fear the gods, and flee to the gods for help; they flatter them and assail them with abuse, pray to them and blame them.<sup>223</sup>

Even though enlightened minds may disdain superstition, the vast amount of archaeological evidence in form of amulets proves that superstition was very widely believed in. Often, however, no clear line can be drawn between superstition and ancient religion.<sup>224</sup> This superstition also manifested itself in the common use of certain forms, such as the wheel, the crescent (*lunula*), the *phallus* and the eye motif, which served amuletic purposes to protect from the influences of the evil eye (*malocchio*, see below).

Small children often wore around the neck or across the chest a cord with a variety of small amulets such as *lunulae*, *phalli* and *bullae*, which were sometimes incised with the names of the father and mother. Such cords – to some extent the equivalent of our modern charm bracelets – were called *crepundia*.<sup>225</sup> Apart from their alleged protective powers, the combination of the amulets together with the parents' names also served to identify the child.

## Forms

### *The bulla in Rome*

The custom to wear a *bulla* [see above 'Etruscan *bulla*'] survived into Roman times when it was known as *Etruscum aureum*,<sup>226</sup> or Etruscan gold. According to legend, Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome (traditionally 616–579 BC), presented his son with a golden *bulla* after he had killed an enemy in a battle against the combined Latin and Etruscan forces. From that time onwards, the golden *bulla* was

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<sup>223</sup> *Moralia*, 165b, 167e.

<sup>224</sup> Schmitz, "Alles Unheil halte fern!", 46.

<sup>225</sup> Cf. Plautus, *The Braggart Warrior*, 1398-99; August Mau, 'Crepundia', *RE* vol. V.2, 1706-07.

<sup>226</sup> Juvenal, *Satires*, 5.164.

worn by the sons of the patricians; others had to be content with one of leather.<sup>227</sup> In Rome, the *bulla* was plainer; the surfaces were smooth and left undecorated (plates 86–87). As part of the Etruscan royal insignia,<sup>228</sup> the *bulla* played a role in the triumph. However, although it has been supposed that it was worn by the *triumphator* himself,<sup>229</sup> it has also been argued<sup>230</sup> that this assumption rests only on a single literary evidence<sup>231</sup> and may be invalidated by Plutarch who relates that a subjugated old man was wearing the *bulla* in the triumphal train.<sup>232</sup> Otherwise, the *bulla* was worn in Roman times only by children until they reached maturity<sup>233</sup> and animals because they were considered as weak and prone to the evil eye. Only patrician children initially wore the golden *bulla*; soon also children of the senatorial class,<sup>234</sup> and then children of knights<sup>235</sup> and of the freeborn, to whom the right was granted during the Second Punic War, provided that their mothers were *matres familias*.<sup>236</sup> Thus, when the golden *bulla* is later referred to as a sign of better standing,<sup>237</sup> it can only be understood as a distinction between wealthier and poorer circumstances.<sup>238</sup> Children of the poor, unable to afford a *bulla* of gold or metal, may have worn a leather cord with a knot (possibly containing an amulet, too), which simulated the *bulla* proper,<sup>239</sup> although it is quite probable that, as Mau suggested, the golden *bulla* was originally made of leather, subsequently rendered in precious metal.<sup>240</sup> Plutarch gives another (and rather practical) reason for the custom to wear the *bulla*: it may have served 'as identification of the freeborn boy because that way a man knew not to molest him.'<sup>241</sup>

Whether the *bulla* was also worn by girls or solely by boys is subject of controversy. Mau refers to Plautus, who has the slave girl Palaestra say: 'And there's a

<sup>227</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 33.4; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 288a; Juvenal, *Satires*, 5.165; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.6.11.

<sup>228</sup> cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.6.7.

<sup>229</sup> August Mau, 'Bulla' 1048; cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.6.9.

<sup>230</sup> Goette, 'Die Bulla', 136.

<sup>231</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.6.9.

<sup>232</sup> Plutarch, *Life of Romulus*, 25.5. However, the context of this story perhaps necessitates the view that the *bulla* may here simply mark the old man as young and foolish, who 'seems to have conducted the campaign unwisely, and without the experience to be expected of his years.'

<sup>233</sup> Cf. Persius, *Satires*, 5.30-1.

<sup>234</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.6.11.

<sup>235</sup> According to Pliny, children of knights wore the *bulla* from the start (*Natural History*, 33.4).

<sup>236</sup> Sebesta, 'Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman', 47; according to Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.6.13-14 they could still only wear a leathern *bulla*.

<sup>237</sup> Juvenal, *Satires*, 5.164; Statius, *Silvae*, 5.3.120.

<sup>238</sup> August Mau, 'Bulla' in *RE*, vol. III.1, 1049.

<sup>239</sup> Cf. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.6.14; Juvenal, *Satires*, 5.165.

<sup>240</sup> August Mau, 'Bulla' in *RE*, vol. III.1, 1049, 1051.

<sup>241</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, 288b.

*bullae*, too, that my father gave me on my birthday'.<sup>242</sup> He argues that even though the original is in Greek, Plautus would have chosen a different word, had the *bullae* not been worn by girls. Goette, on the other hand, believes this not to be a literary translation but assumes that the Greek named a different kind of necklace and that it was translated as 'bullae' in order to fit the metre.<sup>243</sup> Sebesta believes that Mau concludes that Plautus' line cannot be taken as positive evidence. She refers to visual evidence where four of five examples of girls wearing the *toga praetexta* (thereby marking them as freeborn adolescents) 'wear no amulets of any kind; the absence [of a *bullae*] is particularly noticeable in the Ince Blundell Hall relief, which also depicts the girl's brother wearing a large, prominent *bullae*'.<sup>244</sup> She argues that a girl might still wear a necklace of some sort, suggesting the amuletic crescent moon (*lunula*), which is worn by a girl on the north frieze of the Ara Pacis.<sup>245</sup> Certainly, *lunulae* were particularly suitable for girls [see below '*lunula*']. However, there is evidence in Mau's favour: a necklace from the Roman Imperial Period (about 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD) is strung with various glass and gold beads in the shape of cowrie shells and, unmistakably, with a small<sup>246</sup> pendent *bullae*.<sup>247</sup> Considering that the cowrie shell traditionally was an amulet worn by women<sup>248</sup> and taking into account the colourful beads, the miniature size of the *bullae* as well as the fact that it apparently belongs together with a pair of earrings, the necklace makes a case for the wearing of *bullae* by

<sup>242</sup> *Rudens*, 1171.

<sup>243</sup> Goette, 'Die Bullae', 137-8.

<sup>244</sup> Sebesta, 'Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman', 47.

<sup>245</sup> Sebesta, 'Symbolism in the Costume of the Roman Woman', 47 with n. 14: 'Mau, however, thinks that Plautus here is translating the word *perideraia* in the original Greek play and that this line cannot be taken as evidence for girls wearing the *bullae*. See RE 1048.' Sebesta's commentary on Mau does, however, not match the German original: in fact, the opposite is the case. Her 'cannot' should read 'can'. Mau's original argument is clearly *in favour* of the *bullae* being worn by girls and reads as follows: Daß sie [die Bullae] auch von Mädchen getragen wurde, darf aus Plaut. Rud. 1171 vermutet werden; denn wenn auch die Stelle aus dem griechischen Original stammt, so würde doch in der Übersetzung wohl ein anderes Wort gewählt worden sein, wenn die Bullae der Mädchentracht fremd gewesen wäre' (Mau, 'Bullae' in RE vol. III, 1048). Translation: 'That the *bullae* was also worn by girls can be assumed with reference to Plautus, *Rudens*, 1171; because even if the text is taken from the Greek original, Plautus would have surely chosen a different word for his translation, had the *bullae* not been worn also by girls.' Nevertheless, Sebesta still does not conclusively prove that Mau is wrong, but merely refers to the negative visual evidence in Gabelmann, 'Römische Kinder in *Toga Praetexta*'.

<sup>246</sup> The *bullae* is circa 1.6 in diameter; cf. the usual four to six centimetres.

<sup>247</sup> Now part of the Burton Y. Berry Collection in the Indiana University art Museum, Bloomington, Indiana (No. 70.46.3.A), illustrated in Rudolph, *A Golden Legacy*, cat. no. 64.A.

<sup>248</sup> The cowrie (*cypraea*) shell looks, with its indented lip, like 'a half-closed but ever-watching eye and was therefore [already in ancient Egypt] thought to be, by sympathetic means, a prophylactic against the evil eye' (Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs*, 10). In addition, it also resembles the female sexual organ, and is therefore doubly suitable to be worn as a protection from the aborting and sterilising consequences of the evil eye.

girls.<sup>249</sup> Furthermore, I do agree with Mau's basic line of argument, that Plautus would have surely chosen a different word for his girl's amulet had the *bullā* been worn exclusively by boys. This, of course, is not to deny that the *lunula* was probably the preferred and most frequently worn amulet for girls (and women, too).

### ***The Heracles Knot (now Hercules Knot)***

Although Keyßner remarks that the *nodus Herculeus* had by then degenerated into a 'mere ornament',<sup>250</sup> he nevertheless quotes Pliny stating that it was used as a potent amulet,<sup>251</sup> and refers to the Vestal Virgins whose girdle was tied in a Hercules knot because virgins were in need of appropriate protection.<sup>252</sup> It seems only natural that the Hercules knot is still ascribed apotropaic powers, even though it was slowly to be superseded by other forms of amulets such as the *lunula* (from the East) and the wheel (from the West).

### ***The lunula***

The crescent-shaped *lunula* is one of the oldest and continuous amulets in antiquity: evidence from Mesopotamia dates back to the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium BC and the *lunula* may be found throughout the Mediterranean world.<sup>253</sup> It was always believed to guard life and to provide milk and life to children, thereby granting, by extension, protection to mothers, too. It was, of course, symbol of the moon, which was not only biologically closely linked to the female cycle but its waxing and waning also symbolises the synchronic growth and reduction of the breasts<sup>254</sup> or, it seems to me more obviously, pregnancy. It was traditionally given at birth and represents one of the oldest traceable birthday presents in history.<sup>255</sup>

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<sup>249</sup> This is assuming that the *bullā* is the original pendant. Rudolph's detailed (and usually comprehensive) commentary, however, gives no reason why this should not be the case.

<sup>250</sup> Karl Keyßner, 'Nodus' in *RE*, vol. III, 807.

<sup>251</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 28.17.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. Heckenbach, 'De nuditate', 106.

<sup>253</sup> Schmitz, "Alles Unheil halte fern!", 58 with n. 43, referring to Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, A. N and Witteveen, A. M., 'Roman Bronze Lunulae from the Netherlands' in *Oudheidkundige Mededelingen* 58 (1977), 167-195, 176.

<sup>254</sup> Wrede, 'Lunulae', 243.

<sup>255</sup> Plautus, *Epidicus*, 639.

The *lunulae* of concern are a comparatively late import from Mesopotamia and Syria.<sup>256</sup> As an amulet, the crescent was always worn with its ends pointing downwards.<sup>257</sup> Even though it had been around for so long, it is nevertheless during the era of Imperial Rome that the *lunula* experienced its most widespread appearance. A very ornate Hellenistic *lunula* dating from the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC (plate 89) contrasts with the much plainer gold Roman *lunulae* (plates 90–91).

Women and children as well as animals wore the *lunula* for general protection. Relative to male prowess they were deemed particularly weak and prone to malicious influences of all kinds. Although the *lunula* may at first seem especially suitable for girls, children of both sexes wore it.<sup>258</sup> When worn by the horses drawing the triumphal chariot the amulet not only guarded the horse itself but may, by extension, also protect the *triumphator* from ill will at the hands of Fortuna [cf. above '*bullā*']. At some stage *lunulae* are regarded as *ornamenta mulierum*, a *pars pro toto* for necklaces in general,<sup>259</sup> until it became acceptable for a free man to wear jewellery. The earliest occurrences on a man's neck date to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC.<sup>260</sup>

Curiously, the amulet cannot be found in connection with moon goddesses such as Selene or Luna; it occurs, however, frequently in connection with maternal deities. As Wrede concludes, the magical protection was primarily associated with the growing and reducing planet itself; moon deities were only of secondary importance. This is probably because *lunulae* were ascribed special powers at a time when the idea of anthropomorphic gods and goddesses did not yet exist.<sup>261</sup>

In combination with other amulets, the *lunula* may take on different connotation, for example, in conjunction with the wheel (plate 91), a solar symbol, the *lunula* can be viewed in an astrological context as a symbol of the moon and night, expressing the desire for permanence; whereas in connection with the *phallus* it symbolises female fertility, referring to the monthly female cycle.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>256</sup> Where, as well as in Western Asia, they were already found in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> millennia BC. In Greece, on the other hand, they only appear during the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC. However, archaeologico-historical evidence suggests that these were coming from the East, too; cf. Wrede, 'Lunulae', 249.

<sup>257</sup> Cf. Wrede, 'Lunulae', 248.

<sup>258</sup> Cf. visual evidence in Wrede, 'Lunulae', 246.

<sup>259</sup> Wrede, 'Lunulae', 245 n. 44, referring to Isidorus of Seville, *Etymologies*, 19,31,17. According to Wrede, Isidorus, in this instance, was not referring to contemporary custom but that his describing *lunulae* as a women's ornament is based on earlier sources ('Lunulae', 246).

<sup>260</sup> Cf. Wrede, 'Lunulae', 246 with n. 69.

<sup>261</sup> *Idem*, 247.

<sup>262</sup> Schmitz, "Alles Unheil halte fern!", 59 with nn. 53 and 52, respectively.



Oriental civilisations ascribed the crescent to, amongst others, the moon god Baal of Emesa, which brought it in the male and even royal sphere.<sup>263</sup> The typical *lunula* in Roman jewellery was a crescent with a small knob at each end (cf. plate 90). This particular form did not, according to R. D. Barnett, belong to the moon god but to Baal Rekub, the charioteer god.<sup>264</sup> Javier Teixidor, however, remarked that

The symbol of the Moon god was the crescent that in Mesopotamia appears with its convexity at the bottom, thus assimilating the crescent to a boat navigating across the skies. This concept may be behind the divine name Rakib-El, the dynastic god of the kings of Sam'al Rakib-El (or Rakkab-El) [or Rekub-El], which means 'Charioteer of El' and most probably refers to one of the functions of the Moon god.<sup>265</sup>

Unfortunately, further material is not available at present and research on this particular form of the *lunula* remains to be done. In any case, associations with either Baal Emesa or Baal Rekub introduce the *lunula* to the male sphere, which would explain the wearing of the *lunula* by men.

### ***The Wheel***

The wheel appears in several forms, having between three and twelve spokes, although four, six or eight are most common. They are decorated to varying extent.

In contrast to the Eastern *lunula*, the wheel (plate 91) has its roots in the Celtic civilisations of the West, where it was a symbol of a wheel god, who was solar and sky god at the same time.<sup>266</sup> This was contrary to the Graeco-Roman belief, which separated sky god (Zeus/Jupiter) from the solar god (Helios/Apollo). This amalgamation and the fact that the wheel is not a known attribute of Jupiter make it difficult to equate the Celtic wheel god with Jupiter, as was later done.<sup>267</sup> The wheel god was an independent Celtic deity whose symbolism, at least, was assimilated by the Romans.

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<sup>263</sup> Wrede, 'Lunulae', 250.

<sup>264</sup> Cf. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, 175 n. 3.

<sup>265</sup> Teixidor, *The Pantheon of Palmyra*, 43.

<sup>266</sup> Green, *The Wheel as a Cult-Symbol in the Romano-Celtic Word*, 97-98.

<sup>267</sup> *Idem*, 298.

The wheel represented the sun<sup>268</sup> on account of its shapes as well as the notion of movement, be this on its own or as part of a (solar) chariot. Like classical civilisations, the Celts also believed in the sun travelling overground during the day and underground at night, so that the wheel god (and his symbol) takes on chthonic connotations as well,<sup>269</sup> for example, when coupled with the *lunula*.

According to an attractive theory brought forward by Marshall, the wheel was 'probably a symbol of the magic of love – the *amoris rota* of the Romans,<sup>270</sup> the *inyx* of the Greeks.'<sup>271</sup> This would accord well with the universal notion that jewellery is a very potent means of decoration, thereby making oneself desirable to the other sex. Although the two theories seem to diverge a great deal, it may not be entirely impossible that they, perhaps, co-existed because of Roman cultural eclecticism. This view, however, remains hypothetical.

### ***The phallus***

The *phallus*, the male sexual organ, was known as an amulet in Crete as early as the 6<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>272</sup> *Phalli* often occur on Greek and Roman city walls as well as individual houses.<sup>273</sup> Like the *lunula*, however, it was most widespread at the time of Imperial Rome when it was a potent protection against the evil eye especially: its obscenity was either thought to scare away malicious humans and daemons; or, as a symbol of life, it was thought to prevent general misfortune.<sup>274</sup> It worked best when the tip of the penis is pointed at the person or object in question; for double protection, two *phalli* were sometimes grouped 'base to base' so that they pointed in opposite directions.<sup>275</sup> A *phallus* was placed under the chariot of the *triumphator*, to protect the successful general from the jealousy of the gods,<sup>276</sup> or, indeed, from that of his fellow citizens.

A talismanic<sup>277</sup> use can be found in the stone slab with a *phallus* inscribed *hic habitat Felicitas*, found in a Roman bakery.<sup>278</sup> Children wore a small *phallus* enclosed

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<sup>268</sup> *Idem*, 156-9.

<sup>269</sup> *Idem*, 299-300.

<sup>270</sup> Plautus, *The Casket Comedy*, 207.

<sup>271</sup> *BMCJ*, xlv.

<sup>272</sup> H. Herter, 'Phallus' in *RE*, vol. XIX.2, 1733-44 (for amuletic *phalli*).

<sup>273</sup> Cf. H. Herter, 'Phallus' in *RE*, vol. XIX.2, 1736-7.

<sup>274</sup> Schmitz, "Alles Unheil halte fern!", 62.

<sup>275</sup> H. Herter, 'Phallus', in *RE*, vol. XIX.2, 1734, 1739.

<sup>276</sup> Cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, 28.29.

<sup>277</sup> That is, bringing luck rather than averting evil.

in a *bulla*, or openly around the neck as well as on the *crepundia*.<sup>279</sup> The *phalli* were made of a variety of materials such as bronze, gold, silver, gemstones, ivory, amber, coral and green glass but also marble and iron. They appear especially potent when rendered in organic materials such as bone, ivory or wood due to the materials' links with vitality, life and growth.<sup>280</sup> Phallic amulets are frequently grouped together with *lunulae*, but also the *fica* ('fig', a fist with the thumb slid between the index and middle fingers, signifying sexual union). On its own, it was very popular on rings.<sup>281</sup>

### *The Evil Eye*

The belief in a malicious power of the evil eye (*malocchio*) is almost universal, both in its presence in almost all civilisations as well as in timelessness. Babylon, Assyria, Egypt and the Old Testament as well as, for example, Victorian Britain and modern folklore, all share this belief, according to which a jealous or malicious person (or animal) can cast a spell on other humans (again, children, women and animals are especially prone due to their inherent weakness), or animal and even things. The person (or animal) may not be aware of his evil powers, for which reason anxious mothers kept their children away from their fathers.<sup>282</sup> The carrier of the evil eye may even harm himself when looking into a mirror.<sup>283</sup> The threat was omnipresent,<sup>284</sup> and since consequences could be grave (including death), adequate protection was imperative. In both Greece and Rome, it was common knowledge that the best way to avert and paralyse the evil eye was its own medium: the eye itself. The eye is therefore a common motif in amuletic jewellery, as showcased in a Roman ring, whose bezel is modelled as an entire eye (plate 92), or, in my opinion more subtly, in an Etruscan *bulla* (plate 85). In both cases, the layered onyx is carved to simulate the dark and white areas of the eye. Apart from the eye itself there are several other motifs considered especially suitable to fend off the destructive powers of the *malocchio*: monstrous appearances or obscene symbols were thought to terrify the demon or make him laugh or blush with embarrassment – thereby breaking his spell. Gorgoneia (cf.

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<sup>278</sup> H. Herter, 'Phallus', in *RE*, vol. XIX.2, 1737.

<sup>279</sup> Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 7.97; Pliny, *Natural History*, 28.39.

<sup>280</sup> H. Herter, 'Phallus', in *RE*, vol. XIX.2, 1738.

<sup>281</sup> Regrettably, no illustration is available. However, many examples are in the collections of the National Archaeological Museum in Naples, and there are five rings each with a *phallus* in the British Museum (*BMCR* nos. 149, 254-257).

<sup>282</sup> Plutarch, *Moralia*, 682a.

<sup>283</sup> *Idem*, 682b.

<sup>284</sup> Horace, *Letters*, 1.14.37, Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, 4.14.

plate 85) and as well as wild animals such as lion, serpent or bulls are popular motifs belonging to the first category, whereas the *phallus* and, rather rarely, the female sex (alluded to in the representation of cowrie shells, cf. plate 87) belong to the latter. Gestures were also helpful, ranging from the *fica* (see above) to the *digitus infama*, the fist extended middle finger.<sup>285</sup>

## **Jewellery Types**

### ***Cameos***

Cameos are gems cut in raised profile. Unlike the intaglio, a gem cut in negative relief, cameos were purely decorative because they could not be used as a seal. Cameo gems first appeared in the Hellenistic period; they were especially popular among the Romans who mastered the technique exceptionally well. With the establishment of the Empire, emperors patronised the arts, of which the cutting of gemstones was especially popular. Soon the scenes and portraits of the emperors and imperial family developed into (more or less subtle) propaganda tools, promoting the imperial family in general or military achievements and political iconography in particular – such as that of Tiberius' victory over the Dalmatians depicted in the *Gemma Augustea* (pl. 93).

### ***Set Coins***

During the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> centuries AD, brooches, rings (plate 94) and pendants (plate 95) set with a gold coin or medallion of the current Emperor become very popular.<sup>286</sup> Most can, of course, be dated by the coins. Higgins suggests that 'rings with imperial coins were [possibly] awarded as military distinctions, but the necklaces are best explained as a form of flattery not uncommon in court circles at any period.'<sup>287</sup>

### ***Rings***

The symbolism of rings is particularly relevant in Rome. Here, it is not the motif that is of primary interest,<sup>288</sup> but rather what the ring conveys about the wearer's

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<sup>285</sup> Rf. B. Kötting, 'Böser Blick' in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, vol. 2, 473, 476-479; Kuhnert, 'Fascinum' in *RE*, vol. VI.2, 2009-2014.

<sup>286</sup> *BMCJ*, xlvii.

<sup>287</sup> Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*, 175.

<sup>288</sup> Marshall lists a few historical motifs such as the armed Venus on Caesar's signet ring, or Augustus' initial sphinx, then a portrait of Alexander the Great and finally his own likeness engraved by Dioscurides (*BMCR*, xvii).

status; it is very much a social symbol.

Searching for the origin of the custom of wearing a ring, Pliny remarks that Homer nowhere mentioned rings, although various contexts are discussed where rings or even seal rings would not be out of place.<sup>289</sup> Even when considering the articles which were manufactured at the forge of the gods, 'he [Homer] speaks of this as being the origin of fibulae and other articles of female ornament, such as earrings, for example, but does not make any mention of rings,'<sup>290</sup> even though Homer mentions men wearing gold plaited in their hair.<sup>291</sup>

Rings were initially worn on the left hand, which is usually concealed; wherefore Pliny assumes that the inventor of rings was embarrassed by his indulgence (and, in Pliny's opinion, rightly so). Thus, because of the absence of rings in Homer, and because the early custom of wearing the ring on the left (which would have been unpractical when holding a shield), Pliny concluded that rings were first worn by women, obviously after the time of Homer.<sup>292</sup>

In practical terms, rings have always functioned as seal rings, the seal being the equivalent of the owner's signature, which is an argument against Pliny: only men required a seal when signing documents of political, legal or economic importance. In Rome, seal rings played an important role in finalising a will,<sup>293</sup> while during the Empire the Emperor marked out his heir-to-be by presenting him with his seal ring.<sup>294</sup> More importantly, however, rings served as an obvious sign of rank and/or merit, which did not seem to matter much among the Greeks.<sup>295</sup> The ring, along with other insignia of office and excellence, were taken over from the Etruscans.<sup>296</sup> However, early Roman rings were made of iron and worn 'as an emblem of warlike valour'<sup>297</sup> whereas gold rings were reserved initially only for certain occasions, later also for certain classes.

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<sup>289</sup> Such as the sending of letters (they were secured by a tied knot), or the storing of precious materials.

<sup>290</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 33.4; cf. Homeric Hymns, *To Aphrodite*, 5.86-89, esp. 161-164, where Homer lists the jewellery Anchises takes off Aphrodite before going to bed, namely 'the pins and twisted bracelets and ear buds and necklaces'; *Iliad*, 18.400, where Hephaestus lists what jewellery he makes: 'brooches, and spiral armbands, and rosettes and necklaces'.

<sup>291</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 33.4; cf. Homer, *Iliad*, 17.52.

<sup>292</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 33.4.

<sup>293</sup> Ovid, *Amores*, 2.15.15-17.

<sup>294</sup> Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, 7.8.9.

<sup>295</sup> *BMCR*, xviii with n. 6.

<sup>296</sup> Florus, 1.1.5.

<sup>297</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 33.4.

State embassies on a mission abroad were given gold rings at public expense for the duration of the mission but on their return the ambassadors would resume to wear their iron rings – if not also in public so at least at home.<sup>298</sup> Roman generals in most cases celebrated their triumph wearing a ring of iron rather than gold<sup>299</sup> (although this implies that some generals *did* wear a gold ring).

The *flamen dialis* could only wear a perforated ring, as a complete circle would have interfered with making contact to the gods,<sup>300</sup> and Marshall suggests 'that he had the right of wearing the gold ring at all times',<sup>301</sup> although, admittedly, the nature of metal is not explicitly stated. As early as 321 BC, those who had held curule office were allowed to wear a gold ring but there are instances when the *nobiles* laid aside their rings.<sup>302</sup> By the year 216 BC, the right to wear a golden ring was granted to the first eighteen *centuries* of the knights,<sup>303</sup> wherefore it can be assumed that all senators must have had the right to wear the gold ring, although the more conservative among them might have refused to do so.<sup>304</sup> As a military distinction 'the gold ring had probably been granted to knights and others from early times, and in this way the right of wearing the gold ring would spread through all ranks of the army.'<sup>305</sup> Nearer the end of the Republic, gold rings were every now and then given to persons of no military rank.<sup>306</sup> The subsequent indignation among some conservatives<sup>307</sup> is an indication that the old tradition was relaxed little by little rather than all at once;<sup>308</sup> it was finally discarded when Emperors bestowed gold rings rather freely upon their subjects, and when a census made the right to wear a gold ring dependant on wealth.<sup>309</sup> In 23 AD, the Senate tried to revert (at least partly) to the old tradition by passing a decree, which required owners of gold rings not only to have the requisite wealth but also to be freeborn in the third generation.<sup>310</sup> The law was to no avail as Emperors frequently disregarded it.<sup>311</sup> However, gold rings continued to play a role in the army. Even

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<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>300</sup> Gellius, *Attic Nights*, 10.15.6; cf. *idem*, 9; Karl Keyßner, 'Nodus' in *RE*, vol. XVII.1, 804.

<sup>301</sup> *BMCR*, xviii.

<sup>302</sup> Cf. *BMCR*, xix with nn. 1, 2.

<sup>303</sup> Livy, *History of Rome*, 23.12.2.

<sup>304</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 33.6.

<sup>305</sup> *BMCR*, xix w. nn. 5, 6.

<sup>306</sup> Cf. *BMCR*, xix.

<sup>307</sup> Cf. Cicero, *Letters to Friends*, 10.32.2.

<sup>308</sup> *BMCR*, xix.

<sup>309</sup> Cf. *BMCR*, xx.

<sup>310</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 33.8.

<sup>311</sup> Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte*, vol. 1, 93, referring to Pliny, 33.41.

though Septimius Severus permitted every soldier to wear a gold ring in 197 AD,<sup>312</sup> rings of unusual size and weight were bestowed upon those who had distinguished themselves in battle.<sup>313</sup> There is also a certain kind of plain bronze ring with a number engraved on the bezel:<sup>314</sup> it has been suggested that these served as a means of identification.<sup>315</sup>

So far, the discussion of rings has concerned only their military or public symbolism. However, in Rome rings were also used as tokens of betrothal (*anulus pronubus*). Betrothal rings were apparently not in use in Greece,<sup>316</sup> although I argue that if they did not, perhaps, formally exist in Greece, the concept of a ring given as a token of love already existed. With the formalisation of the betrothal ring, the Roman custom was to leave its mark on the history of rings to come. According to Pliny, betrothal rings were traditionally made of iron and did not feature a gemstone even to his day (prior to 79 AD),<sup>317</sup> but of course this would only be the case as long as gold was not accessible for ordinary people and already before the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD, golden betrothal rings were *en vogue*.<sup>318</sup> Some of the rings have a design of two clasped hands whereas others bear inscriptions.<sup>319</sup>

Of course rings also served as a vehicle of amuletic motifs, and *phalli*, Hercules knots and human eyes (to avert the evil eye) were often found engraved on the bezels. According to medical folklore, a silver signet ring was thought to cure a scorpion's bite.<sup>320</sup>

### Torques

The *torques*, or torc, is a semi-rigid, not fully circular necklace<sup>321</sup> made mostly of bronze but also of iron, silver or gold, which is characterised by its screw-like thread (although plain torcs also exist) ending in bulky terminals (plate 96). The torc was worn at the base of the neck with the knobbly ends resting in front. The appearance, texture, and the way of wearing it recalls a rope slung around the neck, particularly

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<sup>312</sup> Herodian, *History of the Empire*, 3.8.5.

<sup>313</sup> *BMCR*, xx.

<sup>314</sup> For an illustration cf. *BMCR*, no. 655.

<sup>315</sup> *Idem*, xxi with n. 5.

<sup>316</sup> Cf. *idem*, xxi.

<sup>317</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 33.12.

<sup>318</sup> Cf. *BMCR*, xxii with n. 1.

<sup>319</sup> For illustrations of a few example cf. *BMCR*, nos. 272, 276, 514, 1181.

<sup>320</sup> *Geoponica*, 13.9.2.

<sup>321</sup> Later also a bracelet and ring of similar design.

since the terminals often expanded slightly and where bent outwards so that the impression of a knot may be evoked.<sup>322</sup> This is possibly related to an early apotropaic use where knots played a protective role.<sup>323</sup>

The Greeks knew the *torques* from the Persians<sup>324</sup> but did not use it themselves although it was of course part of their loot;<sup>325</sup> instead, it became an honorific present.<sup>326</sup> In the West, finds date back to about 1000 BC and they were generally widespread – from Scythia to Etruria to Ireland.<sup>327</sup> The Celts seem to have a longer tradition wearing the *torques* than the Gauls, who probably borrowed it from the Etruscans.<sup>328</sup> However, the *torques* was to become so characteristically Gallic that the personification of Gaul wore quite naturally a *torques*.<sup>329</sup> The Gauls also symbolically presented Augustus with a golden *torques* weighing 100 pounds.<sup>330</sup>

Torcs were worn throughout the ranks of Gallic warriors so much so that Livy remarks on their multitude,<sup>331</sup> and the Hellenistic marble sculpture of 'The Dying Gaul' from Pergamon, now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, shows the dying soldier wearing nothing but his torc. Earlier sources claim that *torques* at that time were only worn by men,<sup>332</sup> but grave finds have made it clear that, by and large, they were in fact more often worn by women and that it is rare for a warrior's grave to include one.<sup>333</sup> From Caesar we know that the Gauls were particularly susceptible to mystic ideas,<sup>334</sup> which, together with their appearance of a knotted rope, suggests that the *torques* must have had a specific, deeper, perhaps cult-related meaning<sup>335</sup> yet to be discovered. The Romans, on the other hand, viewed the *torques* always as an emblem of foreign peoples. It therefore served as a special kind of loot, which victorious generals either wore as decoration, thereby turning it into an emblem of conquest,<sup>336</sup> or

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<sup>322</sup> Propertius, *Elegies*, 4.10.

<sup>323</sup> Cf. the double knot around the neck of animals as protection still at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, cf. Seligmann, *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes*, 328.

<sup>324</sup> Herodotus, *Histories*, 6.113.3.

<sup>325</sup> *Idem*, 9.80.

<sup>326</sup> *Idem*, 3.20; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 1.2.27.

<sup>327</sup> E. Schuppe, 'Torques' in *RE*, vol. XIX.2, 1801.

<sup>328</sup> *Idem*, 1802.

<sup>329</sup> Claudian, *On Stilicho's Consulship*, 2.241.

<sup>330</sup> Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, 6.3.70.

<sup>331</sup> Livy, *History of Rome*, 36.40.12, 33.36.13.

<sup>332</sup> E. Schuppe, 'Torques' in *RE*, vol. XIX.2, 1803.

<sup>333</sup> Rf. Tait, *7000 Years of Jewellery*, 74f.

<sup>334</sup> Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 6.16.1.

<sup>335</sup> E. Schuppe, 'Torques' in *RE*, vol. XIX.2, 1803.

<sup>336</sup> Livy, *History of Rome*, 7.10.11.



sacrificed to the gods.<sup>337</sup> They were subsequently given to soldiers as a military reward, and soon, in a shrewd political move, the Senate gave *torques* as presents to Gallic tribes.<sup>338</sup>

### **Gem Stones**

In antiquity, gemstones were identified solely by their observable features such as colour, relative hardness, and crystal form. Subsequently, stones with the same or similar colour could well be given the same name even though they may actually be completely different materials. Furthermore, although modern names for gemstones often have their roots in the ancient term, it is not necessarily the case that they correlate. The ancient Greek *sappheiros*, for example, denominates not the modern sapphire but lapis lazuli. A careful translation of ancient sources is therefore paramount, but it is often best to leave ancient names untranslated until affirmative research and/or archaeological discoveries have been made. Currently, a summary of the symbolism of ancient gemstones is out of reach as much further research is required, which in itself would justify a work of the present scope. However, it is possible to venture into some ancient folklore regarding gems in order to illustrate antiquity's fascination of gemstones, while at the same time this folklore constitutes yet another example of ever-growing superstition.

Pliny<sup>339</sup> devotes a considerable chapter to gemstones and his recordings are one of the most important sources about ancient gemmology and the importance and meaning of some gems. In his opinion, 'it was [the] victory of Pompey over Mithridates [in 66 BC] that made fashion veer to pearls and gemstones.'<sup>340</sup> As gemstones proper, he lists the *adamas*, the pearl, the *smaragdus* and opal as universally desired and especially favoured for jewellery.

### ***Pearl (margarita, unio)***

Although in book 37 Pliny classifies the pearl as second to *adamas* regarding its importance, he elsewhere admits that 'The first and therefore the topmost rank among

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<sup>337</sup> *Idem*, 33.36.13.

<sup>338</sup> *Idem*, 43.5.8.

<sup>339</sup> *Natural History*, 37.

<sup>340</sup> *Idem*, 37, 6.

all things of price is held by pearls.<sup>341</sup> Considering the well documented craze for pearls among the Romans,<sup>342</sup> (according to Sueton, Caesar went to conquer Britain in search of pearls<sup>343</sup>), its mysterious genesis, its costly and risky acquisition, and the fact that its origin very much parallels that of Aphrodite, the pearl will here be regarded as the most sought-after and valued gem material (plates 97 and 100).

Since, according to Pliny, 'it is certain that [the pearl] was conceived from the sky, and that pearls have more connexion with the sky than with the sea',<sup>344</sup> it therefore becomes something almost divine. As nowadays, their 'whole value lies in their brilliance [today one would say 'orient'], size, roundness, smoothness and weight', which are

qualities of such rarity that no two pearls are found that are exactly alike: this is doubtless the reason why Roman luxury has given them the name of 'unique gems', the word *unio* not existing in Greece, and indeed among foreign races, who discovered this fact, the only name for them is *margarita*.<sup>345</sup>

*Margarita* (and also its male form *margaritio*) was symbolically used 'to designate the most cherished object; for instance, a favourite child',<sup>346</sup> or indeed a dog,<sup>347</sup> but later also even Christ himself while 'Margarita' was a popular name for girls among the Romans, especially so among the Christians.<sup>348</sup>

### Adamas

The Greek word '*adamas*' literally means 'the unconquered', the name given to the diamond due to its superior hardness and resistance to physical and chemical change.<sup>349</sup> Although *adamas* principally refers to the diamond, it also embraces other (colourless) stones due to insufficient gemmological knowledge to distinguish

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<sup>341</sup> *Idem*, 9.54.

<sup>342</sup> Both in surviving jewellery and in word (e.g. Pliny, *Natural History*, 9.56, 58, 37.6, 33.3; Martial, *Epigrams*, 8.81; Seneca, *On Benefits*, 7.9).

<sup>343</sup> Sueton, *Iulius Caesar*, 47. Although Caesar's rallying Rome with the prospect of pearls in Britain may well have been a shrewd strategy to win support for his campaign.

<sup>344</sup> *Natural History*, 9.54.

<sup>345</sup> *Idem*, 9.56. The Greeks, however, used occasionally also 'pina' and 'pinna' to designate pearls (cf. Rommel, 'Margaritai' in *RE*, vol. XIV.2, 1684).

<sup>346</sup> Kunz and Stevenson, *The Book of the Pearl*, 11.

<sup>347</sup> Petronius, *Satyricon*, 64.

<sup>348</sup> Cf. Rommel, 'Margaritai' in *RE*, vol. XIV.2, 1700-1702.

<sup>349</sup> Until this day diamond is the hardest natural substance known to man.

between diamond proper and its look-alikes.<sup>350</sup> Curiously, according to Caley and Richards, Pliny's description of *adamas* 'suggests that it is generally referred to corundum',<sup>351</sup> the second hardest gem material after diamond, designating red ruby and sapphire (which occurs in a variety of colours).

Still nowadays, the exceptionally bright lustre of diamond is called 'adamantine' (whereas the inferior but still very bright lustre of corundum is called 'sub-adamantine'). Even Pliny admits to 'six kinds of *adamas*'.<sup>352</sup> Regarding their identification, he sadly relates that they can all be tested on the anvil, 'and they are so recalcitrant to blows that an iron hammer head may split in two and even the anvil be unseated'.<sup>353</sup> This is of course untrue since diamond, although extremely hard, possesses the ability to split along planes of atomic weakness (cleavage) and can thus well be shattered into pieces by a blow of a hammer. His 'test', however, was to become for centuries the standard diamond testing so that many a magnificent stone will have ended its life on the anvil. As to popular belief, he of course rightly dismisses the story that it can be broken up when soaked in fresh goat's blood. However, it was believed that *adamas* 'prevails also over poison and renders them powerless, dispels attacks of wild distraction and drives groundless fears from the mind'.<sup>354</sup> Just how valued the *adamas* (plate 98) – as in 'diamond' – was, is best illustrated by a ring where the gemstone, probably a rock crystal, is cut in the characteristic shape of a diamond crystal (plate 99). Imitation is always an indicator of value.

### **Smaragdus<sup>355</sup>**

Third in estimation ranks the green *smaragdus*. Its attractive colour – according to Pliny, 'no colour has a more pleasing appearance [...] [because] there is nothing whatsoever that is more intensely green'<sup>356</sup> – and easier workability may have been the

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<sup>350</sup> It must be remembered that faceting and polishing of diamond in antiquity was very rudimentary so that the fire of diamond, for which it is nowadays so highly valued, could not have been observed. At least not to such an extent as to safely distinguish it from other colourless stones by sight.

<sup>351</sup> Caley and Richards, *Theophrastus on Stones*, 91, cf. 148. Corundum is the second-hardest gemstone occurring in almost any colour, most famously in red (when it is called 'ruby') and blue (when it is called 'sapphire'), while all other colours are referred to as sapphire with colour as denominator.

<sup>352</sup> *Natural History*, 37, 15.

<sup>353</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>354</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>355</sup> For a discussion about symbolism of the emerald during the Middle Ages see Schreiner, "'Venus" und "Verginitas" and 'Nachträge zu "Venus" und "Verginitas"'.  
<sup>356</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, 37.16.

reason why it was, together with the pearl, the most popular decorative gem material (plate 100). Green was regarded as especially pleasant to the sun-strained eye. Thus, *smaragdi*

alone of gems, when we look at them intently, satisfy the eye without cloying it. Indeed, even after straining our sight by looking at another object, we can restore it to its normal state by looking at a *smaragdus*; and engravers of gemstones find that this is the most agreeable means of refreshing their eyes: so soothing to their feeling of fatigue is the mellow green colour of the tone. [...] The Emperor Nero used to watch the fights between gladiators in a reflecting *smaragdus*.<sup>357</sup>

*Smaragdus* is usually translated with 'emerald'. However, just as is the case with *adamas*, the term *smaragdus* also covers green materials such as malachite ('blind' or opaque *smaragdi*), green turquoise and possibly green porphyry, green jasper, green quartz, all of which are not emerald and therefore a translation is not sufficiently precise.

Next down on the scale of esteem is the opal, about which, however, not much is said (not to mention extant) apart from one opal set in a ring belonging to Servilius Nonius (consul in 35 AD), which was said to be worth 2,000,000 sesterces.<sup>358</sup>

These materials, then, are regarded as most precious in Roman times. And even though certain types of jewellery were still worn as amulets, this emphasis on material, colour and value indicates that jewellery became increasingly a decorative element and/or a means to express one's status – be this in terms of money or of origin. Many of the extant mummy portraits from Roman Egypt tell us about the magnificence of contemporary jewellery as well as how (and how proudly!) they were worn.

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<sup>357</sup> *Ibid.* Eichholz's commentary: 'Probably Nero merely looked at the stone to relieve his eyes from the glare of the arena. The inferior reading *smaragdo* has given rise to the belief that Nero used a green stone as an eye-glass', p. 214 n. b in his translation of Pliny, *Natural History*. It has, however, been shown that Nero was far-sighted and therefore it can be concluded that his emerald served him as a 'sun-glass' rather than as a lens (cf. R. Greef in A. Schramm, 'Smaragd' in *RE*, supplement 7, 1218).

<sup>358</sup> *Idem*, 37.21.

## II. Interpretative Descriptions of the Plates

1. The single ear pendant depicts the 'Mistress of the Beasts' / Aphrodite. The goddess, wearing a severe-style *peplos* and holding out a wreath in one hand and an apple in the other hand, is flanked by lions. The 'mistress of the beasts' is, however, conflated with Aphrodite by means of the apple and wreath:<sup>359</sup> the apple is one of Aphrodite's most important attributes from the vegetable kingdom and the gesture of offering an apple was regarded as a symbol of seduction. The wreath, if offered by the goddess, probably symbolises a wedding wreath; given to the goddess it is, together with incense, the commonest sacrifice to Aphrodite.<sup>360</sup>
2. The ring is decoratively engraved with a nude Aphrodite wearing only a necklace, bracelets and anklets. Her clothes are placed on a pillar to her left, on which she casually leans one elbow. She reaches down to Eros with one hand, which supports a perching dove, Aphrodite's favourite bird and symbol of love and gentleness. Eros, in turn, reaches upwards offering his mother a wreath or floral garland, which constitutes, together with incense, the commonest sacrifice to Aphrodite (see above). As the engraving is fairly shallow, it is assumed that the ring served only decorative purposes and was not used as a seal.
3. The swivel ring is set with a carefully sculpted scarab on the upper side (not illustrated), revealing on the under side a decorative engraving of Aphrodite wearing a *chlamys*, leaving her upper body naked down to the waist. Eros is pictured tying her sandal, a favourite motif in the ancient Greek art. Aphrodite, casually leaning on a pillar, holds a myrtle spray: as the spray does not resemble either a rose (or an apple or pomegranate for that matter), we can assume that the spray is myrtle, her most important sacred plant, symbolising beauty and youth.

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<sup>359</sup> Platz-Horster, *Ancient Gold Jewellery*, 54.

<sup>360</sup> Cf. Virgil, *Aeneid*, 1.416-417.

4. The necklace is designed as a fringe of individually worked bird pendants representing doves. Although goldsmithing techniques in the region of ancient Colchis (what is now Western Georgia) was probably influenced by Greek jewellers, this necklace appears to be in a more local style: the details of tail, wings, head, eyes and beak are carefully modelled in filigree (or wire) work and granulation (the soldering of minute gold granule to cover an area), the overall appearance is somewhat cruder and less naturalistic than the dove in plates 5 and 6, for example. Although the last was manufactured a little later, the difference in treatment of the birds is obvious.
5. The ring is set with an oval-shaped carnelian engraved with a dove. The back, rather unusually, features a crouching Eros in relief (see plate 26).  
Early 4<sup>th</sup>-century coins of Paphos on Cyprus feature a similar bird.<sup>361</sup> Since Aphrodite is also known as the Cypriot goddess, the bird on the coins can, with certainty, be identified as a dove, one of the most important birds sacred to Aphrodite. If cross-referencing the coins with the present ring should not be sufficient evidence for this bird to be a dove, the figure of Eros at the back firmly places the ring as well as the bird into the context of Aphrodite and thus of love, youth and beauty. This has not been pointed out by Williams and Ogden in their usually very thorough interpretation of Greek jewellery.<sup>362</sup> Indeed, as has been argued, its iconography of love and desire is a strong indication of this being a token of love, possibly even a betrothal ring proper.
6. The ear pendant said to be from Cyprus is made up of an inverted pyramid, atop which sits a dove (cf. the artistic treatment with the dove of plate 5), suspended from a multi-layered rosette. According to Ogden and Williams, this type of ear pendant is otherwise unparalleled in Cyprus and it is suggested that it was probably imported, possibly from Smyrna.<sup>363</sup> However, in Cypriot Paphos, Aphrodite was honoured as a pyramid.<sup>364</sup>

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<sup>361</sup> Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 252.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>363</sup> *Idem*, 241.

<sup>364</sup> Tacitus, *Histories*, 2.3: 'The representation of the goddess is not in human form, but it is a circular mass that is broader at the base and rises like a turning-post to a small circumference at the top'; cf. Engel, *Kypros*, 136.

The fact that ear pendants of the 'inverted pyramid' type are otherwise fairly common<sup>365</sup> would indicate manufacture elsewhere. The dove, as well, is no firm indication that the ear pendant originates from Cyprus: as a symbol of Aphrodite, it was certainly a popular motif in jewellery across Greece (cf. plates 4, 5 and 7). The combination of unparalleled occurrence of the pyramid type of ear pendants and the fact that it is only 'said to be' from Cyprus and therefore not from a controlled archaeological context would agree well with the theory of importation into Cyprus or, more precisely, manufacture and possible provenance outside Cyprus. However, the combination of dove, pyramid and Cyprus in view of Aphrodite having been worshipped under a pyramid in Paphos is all too tempting to interpret the ear pendant as a Cypriot product, even though it may have been a special commission perhaps – to account for the otherwise unparalleled type of ear pendant. It is certainly a matter of conjecture, but nevertheless a possibility: all too often we are left having to conjecture about artefacts from the past.

7. The Hellenistic ear pendant features an enamelled dove flanked by two tassels of polished garnets suspended from a rosette spacer to the Crown of Isis surmount. Again, the iconography distinctly belongs to the realm of Aphrodite: most importantly, the white dove as one of Aphrodite's favourite attributes. The two polished garnet crystals of the pendants are held in place by two gold caps modelled to resemble the stub and navel of pomegranates (cf. plates 22–23). The Crown of Isis, on the other hand, indicates a reference to the Egyptian goddess Isis, 'mistress of the house of life,' the most popular deity in the Late Period. In popular religion of the Hellenistic and Roman times, her complex roles were simplified to three: protectress of women and marriage; goddess of maternity and the newborn; guarantor of agricultural fertility and abundant harvests. She is thus most closely conflated with Aphrodite, Artemis and Demeter, respectively. Undoubtedly, it is the first of the three who is alluded to in the case of these earrings.

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<sup>365</sup> Cf. for example, Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, cat. nos. 12, 49–50 (both said to be from Kyme), 116 (from the Great Bliznitsa), 147 (said to be from Taranto; such ear pendants were especially popular in Southern Italy).

The similarity in style to the ear pendants of plates 8–9 as well as the Crown of Isis also seen in plates 9, 72 and 73 provide remarkable evidence of the general uniformity in art and belief during the Hellenistic period: from the Crimea to South Italy.

8. This ear pendant from Taranto also exhibits distinctly Aphroditean symbolism: the swan (again, in white enamel), decked out with a golden fringe necklace, as well as the unusually detailed surmount modelled as a five-petalled rose (rather than a stylised rosette) are very closely linked with Aphrodite: the former also as a symbol of lust.
9. The white hen in this ear pendant is not so obviously connected to Aphrodite were it not for the fact that she, as we know, was known to have been given white hens as a sacrifice. Again, the central pendant is flanked by (somewhat cruder) gold tassels, all suspended from a disc with inlaid glass decoration, surmounted by a Crown of Isis (cf. also plates, 7, 72 and 73). As has been discussed, some of Isis' roles overlapped with those of Aphrodite (see above under plate 7).
10. This ear hoop terminates in the head of a dolphin holding a small golden sphere in his beak. Dolphin earrings are so far only known from Ptolemaic Egypt or Cyprus,<sup>366</sup> the latter probably due to the prevailing cult of Aphrodite.
11. The pendant in the shape of a ram's head is realistically rendered: shape as well as texture of horns and hide are executed with great attention to detail, as is so often the case with Greek jewellery. Signs of wear at the sides suggest that this pendant was part of a (fringe) necklace, and therefore, I would like to argue, was part of women's jewellery rather than a single pendant worn by a man. Rams were a symbol of sexual vigour and as such linked to Aphrodite.
12. The bangle with two leaping rams is one of a pair (such bangles were usually worn in pairs). On closer inspection, one can easily see that the jeweller has

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<sup>366</sup> Platz-Horster, *Ancient Gold Jewellery*, 77.



taken care to add a phallus to both rams. Contrary to their fairly chunky look and sexual symbolism these bangles were found in a women's tomb. As there are no apparent signs of wear, it can be assumed that these were made as grave goods to accompany the wearer into the afterlife. Another explanation would be that these were finished shortly before the owner's death, and she did not have the time to 'wear them in' properly. Both style and technique suggest that these bangles come from the same workshop as the lioness protomes shown in plate 30.

13. Jewellery with representations of tortoises is fairly uncommon.<sup>367</sup> This is quite remarkable in that we would expect the tortoise, symbol of taciturnity and domesticity, to feature more prominently in jewellery, essentially made for women. But quite on the contrary: rams, a symbol of sexual vigour and not quite so lady-like or prim and proper as we might expect from a respectable woman of the upper classes (who alone were, we must remember, able to afford gold jewellery), feature, as we have seen, rather prominently in Greek jewellery. It is possible that this is related to the relative value of a ram in practical herdsman terms: a life-generating and meat-producing ram in a flock of sheep would have been of infinitely more value than a mere tortoise – not in vain is a ram a popular sacrifice to the gods: only by its preciousness and importance in the daily struggle of survival does it become a sacrifice proper. Then there is the theory of sympathetic jewellery, that is, women's jewellery often feature motifs usually connected to the male sphere (hunting, sexual and physical prowess) such as stags, lions or rams. As men can relate to these motifs they appeal to men who were thus drawn towards the wearer of such jewels. Although I am arguing that such motifs invariably have some relation to the female sphere (for example, the stag is linked to Artemis while the ram is related to Aphrodite), the sexuality in the motif of the ram (as showcased in plate 12) can hardly be ignored. It may therefore be a good example of

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<sup>367</sup> During my research I have only come across two more tortoise jewels: the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York has fragments of a bracelet or necklace made of carved carnelian and chalcedony tortoises as well as gold plaques with tortoises and tortoise gold pendants. (For an image cf. Alexander, *Jewelry: The Art of the Goldsmith in Classical Times*, plate III). Keller refers to a pair of ear pendants, which have apparently been published as nos. 1045-1046 in *Bronzes du Polytechnion*, a publication I was unable to trace (cf. *Tierwelt*, vol. 2, 250).

sympathetic jewellery, although it is also possible that sexual vigour (male attribute) translates into fertility (female attribute) or it may be a subtle (?) indication of the women's vigorous sexuality. The reason for the popularity of the 'male' ram over the 'female' tortoise may be any or all of the above, or a combination thereof. The modesty of tortoises, in any case, does not seem to befit a medium that, after all, seeks to attract attention and show off beauty and status, unless the wearer wants to stress her virtues as a wife, for example. On a different level, it may also be (somewhat subjectively) argued that among the 'less important' animals, the tortoise is not as attractive to depict as a dove or a dolphin.

This necklace with a fringe of graduated tortoises (their outline in fact suggests that of a sea turtle) comes from what is now Western Georgia and is of fairly early date. Similar to the dove necklace of plate 4, its style is certainly of local influence.

14. The necklace from Akarnania, a region north of Ithaka, comprises a series of myrtle bud (or berry) pendants and is of unusual design. The reference to Aphrodite is evident, while berries and buds are also associated with fertility.
15. The myrtle spray with leaves and flowers is said to be from the 'Tomb of Aspasia' and was discovered in 1804 by Giovanni Battista Lusieri for Lord Elgin. It was found on top of the remains of some burnt bones within a bronze *dinos*. The purpose seems obvious as an offering for the dead; however, it is not clear whether the spray was perhaps originally part of a larger jewel such as a myrtle wreath and could have therefore also been a wreath for the living, most poignantly a wedding wreath. Since a similar spray was found in central Macedonia we can, nevertheless, assume its primary use as a form of grave goods, possibly with reference to Aphrodite's chthonic role.
16. This myrtle wreath features delicately enamelled and finely modelled myrtle leaves, berries and flowers. Although Andrew Oliver dates the wreath as not earlier than 170 BC,<sup>368</sup> he makes no attempt to identify the foliage: the

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<sup>368</sup> Oliver, 'Aspects of Hellenistic Jewellery from Italy', 88.

characteristic shape of the leaves and the protruding stamen of the five-petalled white enamel flower heads as well as the enamelled buds and gold berries all point to myrtle. The central Heracles knot (not seen in the picture) may be a further indication of the wreath being a bridal wreath. This wreath is lavishly enamelled and the detailed work indicates a very costly commission.

17. The ingenious necklace with myrtle flower tassels can be lengthened or shortened by means of a sliding bead. It is perhaps a local Kymean speciality (cf. plates 21 and 44). The flowers can be easily identified as myrtle and distinguished from other five-petalled flowers (such as the rose) by their long, protruding stamen.
18. The comparatively compact myrtle wreath from Etruria can be firmly placed in the Graeco-Etruscan tradition in that the subject matter and form derived from the Greek heritage of belief and ritual. The symmetrical, compact arrangement of the leaves interspersed by berries (and possibly with a myrtle flower at the centre, now missing if originally present) is a fine example of Etruscan jewellery design.
19. The wreath from South Italy comprises seven roses each with a double layer of petals. Roses were, together with myrtle, undoubtedly the most popular flowers used for wreaths for women due to their aromatic scent, which also made them so popular with the goddess of youth, beauty and seduction, Aphrodite herself.
20. The composition of this early necklace featuring pomegranates is not original. The four T-shaped pomegranate pendants are rendered with great attention to detail and an eye for the natural original (for example, the grooves on the fruit as well as the protruding 'navel' at the bottom of the fruit). Similar T-shaped pendants were also found on statues from around 550 BC (from Merenda in Attica and Delos), but they became out of fashion by 500 BC at the latest. Pomegranates were linked to Aphrodite on account of its many seeds, a symbol of fertility, but also to Persephone who accepted and ate pomegranate seeds

from Hades, thereby involuntarily marrying him and confining herself to the underworld for part of the year.

21. A similar yet slightly more complex system as plate 17 (as well as 44), this type of necklace seems to be a Kymean speciality. This particular model features pomegranates at the end of the tassels, easily identified by their characteristic 'navel' at the underside.

22. The ornate diadem from Abdera is particularly rich in iconography.

Each of the rectangular panel of the band is divided into two square sections of which one depicts a male or female mask of the New Comedy, while the other is either decorated with a rosette or a large oval cabochon garnet (with ivy or vine-leaf surround). All of which, including the dark red of the garnet evoking ripe grapes or wine, allude to the god of wine and theatre, Dionysus. The pendent structure is connected to the band by polished garnets. Although these might look like hearts to a modern mind, adding a sentimental touch to the jewel, they are most probably ivy leaves of the heart-shaped variety (cf. plate 57). The jewel is nevertheless illustrated here rather than under the heading 'Dionysus' due to its pendants, which resemble pomegranates thanks to their careful rendering of the 'navels' typical for pomegranate. Such pendants were fairly popular and another, almost identical pendant appears in the hair ornament below.

Loops at the back of the panels allow a string to be threaded through, to facilitate wear. The order of the panels, however, is probably not original. Other items of the hoard include a snake bracelet, a bracelet with lynx heads, a sphinx earring, and a rosette-and-amphora ear pendant, all of which except for the sphinx confirm the Dionysian imagery.

23. The hair ornament comprises a medallion with an enamelled and glass-filled four-leaved clover suspending garnet and emerald 'pomegranate' tassels of the same variety as in the diadem above. The same characteristic type of pendants on stylistically different jewellery (cf. plate 22) appearing in different regions

points at a production of individual parts in one area with subsequent trade elsewhere.

24. The ear pendant featuring Eros riding on a carved garnet dolphin is a playful subject at once evoking Aphrodite as born from the sea, while also alluding to the well-known friendliness of dolphins towards humans, often coming to their rescue.<sup>369</sup> Dolphins are relatively rare in jewellery, appearing only later in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, when the subject matter becomes more playful, even mischievous.
25. The gilded copper ring with an oval bezel depicts a crouching Eros playing the *ixnx*, a magic love charm: consisting of a string with a wheel attached through the centre, the wheel span when the string was pulled taut and allegedly aroused desire. The ring (circa 300 BC) is one of the earliest examples of mercury gilding.
26. See plate 5.
27. The ring features an almost circular, convex bezel depicting a flying Eros holding out a wreath and spelling CHAIRE in Greek (rejoice). Its D-section hoop is very small and suitable for a girl or a small woman. According to Williams and Ogden, 'rings of this form are characteristically engraved with a figure of Eros, and it is probable that they were designed as love-gifts. The shallow engraving and direction of the inscriptions, when present, show that they were not intended as signets.'<sup>370</sup> I would like to emphasise that the wreath most likely represented a wedding wreath and that this ring almost certainly was a betrothal ring and constitutes surviving evidence that, contrary to Pliny's belief, betrothal rings were known and used in Greece.
28. These fragments of a diadem from Cyprus comprise a myrtle flower with a central bee with a pair of naked Erotes (perhaps Eros and Anteros?) sitting atop

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<sup>369</sup> Cf. for example, Herodotus, *Histories*, 23.6 and 8 (memorial of a man riding a dolphin on the island of Taenarus); Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 2.1.3.

<sup>370</sup> *Greek Gold*, cat. no. 29, p. 73.

the flower, each holding a cockerel in his lap, flanked by rosettes (the petals show traces of probably white enamel and red cinnabar at the centre) and stars. It has been suggested that the Erotes holding a cockerel depict 'the start of a cock fight'<sup>371</sup> – one wonders how literal this is to be taken –, which, given the Erotes present and perhaps also the diadem's Cypriot origin, would indicate a highly erotic message. Furthermore, the exchange of cockerels as a homoerotic love gift is also a likely subject matter: as Koch-Harnack has shown, the present of a cockerel from a man to a boy is unmistakably the request for (or invitation to) homoerotic pleasure,<sup>372</sup> and this rather unusual jewel could be the rare example of the subject rendered in gold.

29. The clasp of the loop-in-loop necklace from Altamura is designed as two gazelle's heads with fine wirework. The goldsmith paid careful attention to the animal's facial features, although by this time the quality of workmanship was comparatively low (as can be seen from the rather wide-looped chain just visible at the sides). Such clasps modelled as animal heads are fairly common in South Italy; they were worn at the front of the quite short necklaces.
30. Lions, as well as being associated with Eros, were a symbol of the sun and appealed both to men owing to their strength and women in their capacity for sympathetic jewellery. The lions in this bangle have male heads with a mane and a female body with dugs. The artist obviously intended to depict two lionesses but probably thought that female lions also had manes. It was found in the tomb of the 'Priestess of Demeter' and was worn by a woman.
31. Lions were also a subject matter in Etruscan jewellery, although their artistic rendering puts more emphasis on the lions' ferocity. These two pendants were part of a necklace strung with many more such pendants. The unusual way of modelling the face indicates influence/contact with Babylon and the Assyrians.
32. The butterfly necklace from Chersonesos shows off the Hellenistic fashion for coloured stones: set (from left to right) with garnet, paste (glass), amethyst

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<sup>371</sup> *Idem*, cat. no. 170, p. 36.

<sup>372</sup> Koch-Harnack, *Knabenliebe und Tiergeschenke*, 97ff.

(perhaps purple sapphire), emerald, topaz, garnet, topaz, emerald, amethyst, paste and garnet, this necklace is typical for the mature, polychrome style and three-dimensional design of the later period of the Hellenistic age. Butterfly jewels are rare<sup>373</sup> and limited to Olbia and Chersonesos at this time.

33. A later, Roman example dating to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD, however, seems to be directly influenced by the Crimean prototypes. The Roman necklace puts even greater emphasis on the stones and the goldwork is much less elaborate, restricted only to the bezel setting of the gemstones with very little wirework ornament.

The myth of Eros and Psyche, who was commonly depicted as a butterfly, was especially popular during the late Hellenistic and Roman age.

34. This elaborate ear pendant from Kul Oba depicts Nike perching on the edge of the boat-shaped ornament, tying her sandals – an act often represented in art (Eros tying the sandals of his mother Aphrodite). In the enlargement we can also see a typical palmette, but the ear pendant also features rosettes and pine cone pendants. The disc was originally coloured with red cinnabar, green, and blue enamel.

35. Nike is wearing *polos*, a belted *chiton*, and shoes, holding a fillet in her raised hand indicating a 'coronation' of a victor. The ear pendant is one of a pair and both Nikai are facing the wearer with the raised hand holding the fillet towards the wearers face, thereby alluding to the winning female beauty. The rosette was perhaps enamelled, and there is evidence of ancient repair.

36. This pair of ear pendants shows two Nikai playing knucklebones (astragals) atop two inverted pyramids: the head is inclined in contemplation before she does her throw. This is a particularly charming representation of the game being played. For representations of actual astragals in jewellery, see plate 74.

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<sup>373</sup> Another butterfly necklace from Olbia is in the Walters Gallery in Baltimore.

37. The South Italian wreath was inspired by Greek versions. It is possibly the most elaborate wreath known, and must have been intended as part of the furnishings for the dead because it is too flimsy and too elaborate for wear. It features three Nikai, each wearing a *chiton*, a *himation* and sandals, alternated by four Erotes. The group is surrounded by leafage and flowers of various kinds, including vine leaves, tendrils, grapes, ivy, oak, acorns, small and large roses, campanula flowers and, possibly, poppy flowers. The particularly rich iconography refers to a variety of deities such as Aphrodite and Eros, Dionysus, Zeus, Pan as well as Persephone and Demeter, who can all be related to the afterlife in some way or another.
38. Artemis wears a short *chiton* and an animal skin (exposing one bare breast), probably a *chlamys* over the back of her shoulders, soft skin boots (*kothoroi*), and a pendent necklace. She holds spears and a *phiale* over an altar. The boots and the short dress clearly designate her in her role as goddess of the hunt. The bare breast, if interpreted as an innocent allusion, may be a reminder of her virginity.
39. Artemis, riding side-saddle on the back of a stag, wears a belted *peplos* buttoned at the shoulder, a *himation* over her legs, sandals, necklace and earrings. She holds a torch (which was perhaps originally in a more upright position). The group is suspended from a rosette, which originally was coloured with (blue?) enamel, at whose centre sits bee. Artemis riding a stag and holding a torch occurs on a ring previously in the Harari collection,<sup>374</sup> where stars have been added, suggesting a syncretism with Selene. Artemis/Hekate helped look for Persephone.
40. The motif of the stag is very rare in jewellery but a frequent motif in the art of the North Pontic region. This pin was originally a pendant (the original loop is still attached at the back of the stag's head). The stag evokes the image of the hunt, the goddess Artemis, and the hunter Actaeon who was turned into a stag

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<sup>374</sup> John Boardman, *The Ralph Harari Collection* (London 1976), no. 7.



and hunted down by his own hounds as punishment for observing Artemis taking a bath.

41. The hawk fibulae dated to the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC is said to be from a woman's grave in Ephesus, where the hawk as a symbol of Artemis seems to have been popular. Similar gold hawk fibulae were found in the foundation deposit of the Artemision in Ephesus, built around 560 BC by Croesus, king of Lydia. Artemis shared the hawk with her brother Apollo: more specifically, Artemis' sacred bird was the buzzard whereas the *ocypiterus* belonged to Apollo.<sup>375</sup>
42. Found in a tomb, this plaque traditionally shows a majestic Persephone, wearing a necklace, ear pendants (of the inverted pyramid type), corn ears in her hair and a veil as is appropriate for the dignified queen of the underworld. The corn ear, however, hints at her return to earth and rebirth. Fifteen of these plaques were found in what is known as the tomb of the 'Priestess of Demeter'. However, it is perhaps also a possibility that this plaque depicts Demeter: veiled as is appropriate for a mother and a more mature woman, with the corn ear a direct symbol of the goddess of agriculture.
43. This plaque shows Demeter with an inclined head, expressing her sadness over the loss of her daughter, and holding a torch to aid in her search for Persephone. However, to accord with the inversed interpretation of plate 42, Persephone is often depicted as holding a torch as queen of the underworld. Her sadness expressed by the inclined head may be due to her confinement in the underworld. The plaques, of which thirteen were found, originate from the same grave as those depicting Persephone (or Demeter) in plate 42. They may have decorated the same dress.
44. This pendent necklace is of similar design to those of plates 17 and 21. The tassels end in closed asphodel flowers, alluding to Persephone as queen of the underworld. The necklace was originally partly coloured with red cinnabar (and probably also green and/or blue enamel).

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<sup>375</sup> Aelian, *On Animals*, 12.4

45. This pendant from a tomb in Kul Oba is one of a pair. Since the pendants were found on the middle of the woman's body, it is assumed that they were originally pectorals rather than suspended from a diadem. The disc depicts the head of the famous statue of Athena Parthenos by Pheidias in three-quarter view. Athena wears an elaborate helmet with a sphinx and two winged Pegasoi, heads of griffins and deer along the ridge of her diadem, the turned-up cheek flaps are decorated with griffins. She wears pyramid ear pendants and a three-row necklace. She is flanked by serpents, with an owl on the left.<sup>376</sup> Actual depictions of Athena on jewellery tend to come from the North Pontic region. In this case, the owner must have been especially proud to have an image of the most famous sculpture in antiquity on her jewellery. The quality of workmanship and the subject certainly point at a wealthy and educated wearer.
46. This ring traditionally shows Athena Nikephoros, wearing a high-waisted *chiton*, a *himation* and a Corinthian helmet, comparable with the design on coins of Lysimachus, ruler of Mecedon and much of Asia Minor from 288 to 281 BC. However, it is also possible that the engraving depicts Aphrodite because 'When she was represented as the victorious goddess, she had the attributes of Ares, a helmet, a shield, a sword, or a lance, and an image of Victory in one hand.'<sup>377</sup>
47. This armlet is a Hellenistic classic: it showcases three elements especially popular during this period, namely a coiling serpent which is cleverly employed in bracelets and, even more so, armlets. Furthermore, it features a central Heracles knot surmounted by a cabochon garnet – the former had always been popular with its ascribed apotropaic and healing powers but its use in art and jewellery increased significantly during the Macedonian monarchy. Likewise, garnet was only accessible to any considerable degree after Alexander's conquest of the East.

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<sup>376</sup> Unfortunately, the size of the illustration does not allow to for the necessary detail. For a larger illustration cf. Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 144.

<sup>377</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, 4. 90, cf. representations of Aphrodite in the temples of Cythera with an armed image made of wood of Aphrodite Urania (Pausanias, *Description*, 3.23.1), and Sparta where an ancient temple houses a wooden image of an armed Aphrodite (Pausanias, *Description*, 3.15.10).

48. This olive wreath is of highly naturalistic design: not only does it feature eighteen olives of two different sizes (thereby representing the fruit in its different growth stadiums), but the ends of the stems at the back of the wreath have oblique sheets with concentric circles imitating cut stems in nature. It shows damage by fire, which indicates that it was worn by the dead on the funeral pyre.
49. The design of the pointed diadem depicting Ariadne on the left wearing a *chiton* and *himation*, and Dionysus wearing *kothoroi*, was fairly common in the eastern Mediterranean and the coast of Asia Minor. Both Dionysus and Ariadne hold a *thyrsos* staff, sitting on a large acanthus leaf. They are each faced by five seated women (Muses?), playing various instruments. The diadem is too flimsy for wear and must have constituted part of the funerary attire. The imagery suggests, perhaps, a particular relationship of the dead with the musical arts and the god in particular. Due to the connotations of reunion represented by Dionysus and Ariadne, it may also be conjectured that the dead was perhaps now reunited with her husband in the afterlife.
50. The framed medallion shows a maenad wearing a wreath of vine leaves and grapes, spiral earrings and a panther skin across her right shoulder within a palmette surround. It is a rather unusual piece of jewellery, designed to hold in place a knot of hair. The maenad clearly is part of the Dionysian imagery.
51. Another maenad is represented on an Etruscan ring: her fluttering garb is indicated as fur by means of fine lines, and, as she dances, she tosses her long hair behind her neck, holding a sacrificial jug and bowl. It is a scene from the ritual dedicated to Dionysus. Because she holds the bowl in the right (i.e. correct) hand, we know that the ring served a purely decorative purpose, and it shows signs of heavy wear.
52. The elaborate Etruscan fringe necklace is designed with festoons of granulated satyrs or silens, acorns and lotus motifs. The silens are bald but wreathed, have pointed ears, a long beard, and are characterised as wild creatures by their

furrowed forehead. Although the granulation has suffered a little over the centuries, this splendid necklace is a masterpiece of Etruscan jewellery.

53. A favourite sacrifice to the gods, the bull was also connected to Dionysus. This particular pendant shows a bull's head crowned with an ivy wreath (once enamelled), thereby clearly bringing the bull into the sphere of Dionysus. His ears are open so that it is possible to use the pendant as a pomander by inserting perfume-soaked resin.
54. The necklace from the Artjuhov kurgan features a variety of elements popular at the time which seem to add up, allowing for an interpretation of Dionysian imagery: the lynx heads modelled in gold with paste (imitating onyx) necks are the most obvious motif pointing at Dionysus. The garnet clasp, when compared to ivy leaves on jewellery elsewhere (for example, plate 53), unmistakably represents the heart-shaped ivy variety (cf. plate 57). Finally, the cabochon garnets at the front may thus allude to grapes (?). Cf. the diadem of plate 22, which also showcases Dionysian iconography.
55. Such Achaemenid animal head bangles made of solid gold are widespread beyond the area originally under Persian rule, and soon became the models for local production in the Black Sea area, Cyprus and Greece, although examples of the latter often consist of a bronze core covered with gold foil. This goat bangle is finely modelled and shows signs of heavy wear. Such bangles are usually worn in pairs (cf. plates 12, 30 and 61). The goat, symbol of male sexuality, was closely associated with Pan and therefore by extension also with Dionysus.
56. This Etruscan ivy wreath features the three-lobed version of the ivy leaf. A berry cluster is, perhaps, indicated at the centre. It may have been worn during a Dionysian ritual.

57. The gold-foiled bronze ivy wreath, on the other hand, features the heart-shaped version of ivy leaves. The berry clusters are of a good size compared to the leaves and are made of bronze with gold foil.
58. This attractive ear pendant is designed as a vine leaf surmount (originally with green enamel) suspending a bunch of red paste grapes. Although an obvious allusion to the god of wine, these ear pendants also attest the interest in nature at the time.
59. This fringe necklace is spectacular in scale as well as in detail. The loop-in-loop flat chain supports a festoon of beechnut pendants, small rosettes, a row of smaller seeds and a row of large cone-shaped pendants. These, according to Williams and Ogden, 'have two sorts of decoration: one has six levels of *feathers* [my Italics]; the other has three levels of *feathers* [my Italics], a frieze of spirals with buds between [...] bordered by spiral-beaded wires, and, at the bottom, ribbing with vertical cross-hatching in alternate panels.'<sup>378</sup> Bearing in mind the highly naturalistic subject matter of Greek jewellery, these pendants may easily be identified as pinecones. The so-called 'feathers' are, indeed, the scales of the cones carrying the seeds. Nevertheless, their tops are capped with what looks like the necks of an amphora. Considering the contemporary popularity of the amphora theme, we may say that these pendants are in fact hybrids between pinecones and amphorae. The amphora theory is supported by those pendants embellished with a decorative frieze. Both cones and amphorae are filled with resin and have holes in the shoulders, an indication, perhaps, that they were used as pomanders. Both cones and amphorae are obvious symbols of fecundity and prosperity.
60. The attractive fringe necklace from Pantikapaion is composed of a line of rosettes, every other with a double lotus motif (often called 'double-axe') suspending Achelous heads and 'vertically ribbed seeds, perhaps fennel seeds'.<sup>379</sup> Comparing these pendants with actual fennel seeds,<sup>380</sup> I strongly

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<sup>378</sup> Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 189

<sup>379</sup> Williams and Ogden, *Greek Gold*, 152-153.

<sup>380</sup> I strongly

support this interpretation. The fennel seeds in combination of Achelous may subsequently indicate Dionysian imagery: since the ancients drank their wine diluted, fresh water (Achelous) and wine (Dionysus represented by fennel) went hand in hand. Although, remembering Ogden's thought on the difficulties of interpretations of the arts of the past, I wonder whether this is not, perhaps, going a little too far. Achelous was, in any case, particularly popular in Italy (in Etruscan and South Italian jewellery).

61. Found in a man's tomb, this chunky yet extremely detailed bangle (one of a pair) ends in a female winged sphinx at each terminal. The sphinx was a guardian spirit and served as protection, while it was at the same time highly decorative and its visual potential has been worked to the full: the sphinx herself wears a diadem, ear pendants and a necklace. Both bangles show signs of ancient wear and damage – these magnificent bangles were doubtless the owner's favourite, of which he must have been very proud.
62. The slightly earlier pendant shows a seated female winged sphinx with an archaising face. A very decorative figure, the sphinx protected from the malicious influences of the evil eye and continued to serve as a monumental and funerary guardian spirit until late antiquity.
63. The single earring (the other is lost) in the form of a siren holding a *kithara* and a *plektron* is surmounted by a palmette. The siren playing (celestial) music is an especially suitable subject matter for earrings, while it has also seductive connotations.
64. The smaller siren sits atop a boat suspending four cockle shells, which on the one hand remind of Aphrodite and therefore desire which connects her to the sirens, while on the other hand they are also evoking the sea and the sirens' habitat of the cliffs overlooking the sea.

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<sup>380</sup> Cf.

[http://www.spiceworld.uk.com/advanced\\_search\\_result.php?keywords=fennel+seeds&osCsid=a132142f6c39bb57aa31ccc11e3c236a&x=0&y=0](http://www.spiceworld.uk.com/advanced_search_result.php?keywords=fennel+seeds&osCsid=a132142f6c39bb57aa31ccc11e3c236a&x=0&y=0)

65. The single armlet is decorated with two sets of reliefs. The first shows Peleus wrestling with Thetis: it had been foretold that Thetis' son would be more powerful than his father, so the gods decided that Thetis was to be married off to a mortal, Peleus. Thetis, however, proved reluctant and Peleus had to withstand several of her transmutations to win her. Thetis, wearing a *chiton*, hair loose, looks to the left, with her hands on top of Peleus' head, her elbows poking out. Peleus, grasping Thetis around her waist, is only partly visible. One of Thetis mutations, the lion, is shown on the right.

The other relief depicts a winged woman wearing a *chiton* running to the right with a naked boy in her arms – probably Eos (Dawn) abducting either Kephalos or Tithonos. The subject of abduction and forced marriage posed an omnipresent threat to Greek girls and women.

Whether it was originally conceived as an armlet is unclear. The owner, however, must have liked it considerably as it shows signs of heavy wear.

66. Zeus disguised as an eagle abducting Ganymede was also deemed a worthy subject for jewellery. In this abduction scene, however, the victim does not seem too unhappy about his fate after all: reclining, with one arm around his abductor's head, Ganymede and Zeus almost seem to kiss. Pliny mentions a famous bronze group of Ganymede and the eagle by Leochares, the first to show Zeus as an eagle.<sup>381</sup> The group almost certainly was the inspirational source for this pair of ear pendants.

67. The relief on the ring's bezel shows a woman sitting on a stool, wearing a *chiton* and a *himation*. She faces left but her head, resting on her right hand, is turned to the viewer, possibly to demand sympathy. She can be identified as Penelope by means of comparison with similar pieces, on which she is named and Odysseus' bow is shown.<sup>382</sup>

68. The intaglio with reverse inscription spelling Cassandra's name indicates that this ring was intended as a seal ring. Cassandra, daughter of Priam, king of Troy, has taken refuge in the sanctuary of Athena, and kneels in despair before

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<sup>381</sup> *Natural History*, 34.19.

<sup>382</sup> Boardman, *Greek Gems and Finger Rings*, plate 656.

the Palladion, Athena's cult statue at Troy. Clutching the legs of Athena, Cassandra holds up her cloak in a self-protecting gesture. Her face is upturned and her left breast is bare, a direct allusion to her imminent rape at the hands of Ajax. The lively rendering of the scene – Cassandra's body language of utter despair – catches the viewer's attention and evokes pity.

69. This pointed amphora with lid but without handles may have been worn as a single pendant, or more likely, as part of a fringe necklace or ear pendants. Its relative simplicity provides us with an insight into the more ordinary jewellery of the later 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries. The tongue-shaped decoration at the shoulders and towards the tip are reminiscent of the similarly decorate pomegranate seeds (plates 22–23).
70. Towards the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BC, amphorae became increasingly popular motifs in jewellery. This pair of ear pendants is a typical design of South Italian jewellery: a central pendant flanked by one or more tassels of loop-in-loop chains. The surmount would have originally been set with a cabochon garnet (cf. plates 71 and 73).
71. This amphora ear pendant again is of typical South Italian jewellery design. The body of the amphora here is set with a garnet, certainly for pleasing colourful effect, but perhaps also alluding to the content.
72. This pair of amphora-themed ear pendants features a special form, namely the *kalyx* krater, which was used to mix wine and water (the ancients drank their wine diluted). Again, the surmounts would have been set with a cabochon garnet (or other stone). A Crown of Isis, typical for jewellery of the time, sits atop the disc (see plate 7 for a discussion, cf. plates 7, 9 and 73).
73. The rather elongated shaped of this amphora allows for the interpretation of it representing a *loutrophoros*, the shape of amphora in which water for the bride was fetched, and which served as grave markers for the unmarried. This pendant is also surmounted by a Crown of Isis (cf. plates 7, 9 and 72).



74. The swivel ring is set with a carved pink chalcedony in the shape of an astragal. Although it is not the only example of astragal jewellery, it is fairly uncommon and the pink chalcedony is especially attractive. It served probably as an amulet.
75. This necklace is designed as a fringe of naturalistically modelled acorns suspended from a series of rosettes with lotus-motif spacers. Acorns were an obvious symbol of fertility and nourishment.
76. This splendid oak wreath with abundant leafage and acorns was found in the main burial chamber of the tomb of Philip (probably Philip III and not Philip II). It was kept in a gold chest (itself placed inside a sarcophagus) containing the burnt remains of the dead with the wreath/crown on top. Although the wreath is heavy, it is perhaps too small for a crown to be worn alive.
77. The fringe necklace features a series of beechnut pendants, each suspended from a small rosette. They were a fairly common motif and may be linked to Pan.
78. Sacred to Apollo, laurel wreaths were synonymous with honour, fame, freedom and peace. This laurel wreath is made of bronze with gold foil and features naturalistic berries.
79. The bezel of this ring is modelled as a Heracles knot with an applied central disc depicting a head of a satyr. Although the knot was an extremely popular motif in jewellery and art of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC, it is fairly uncommon to find rings decorated with it. Considering the Heracles knot's connotation of marriage and inseparability, the ring was possibly intended as some form of betrothal ring.
80. Again, although the Heracles knot is ubiquitous in jewellery of the time and especially so in diadems, the design of this diadem said to be from Melos

featuring three twisted ribbons with applied rosettes with a central Heracles knot is very special.

81. This Etruscan pendant in the form of an Achelous is one of the most famous jewellery pieces from Etruria. The technical achievement of the granulation and the attention to detail as well as the individualistic rendering of the facial features remain unsurpassed. Achelous, a symbol of nourishment and fertility, life and abundance, was an especially popular motif in South Italian jewellery.
82. The Etruscan fringe necklace features Achelous heads, two kinds of sirens (the upper row with wings folded, the lower row with wings spread), lotus flowers, acorns oval onyx and amber collets (an organic material, amber itself was thought to have apotropaic powers). The imagery is very much focused on protection, fertility and seduction.
83. The South Italian ring with engraved *cornucopia* or Horn of Plenty may refer to the myth of Achelous. It is, in any case, symbol of fertility, life, wealth and abundance and may confer these upon the wearer/owner.
84. Of Late Etruscan (400–250 BC) date, this (lower) necklace is made up of plain *bullae*, alternating with ornate *bullae*/pendants and with a prophylactic Achelous head at the centre. The emphasis of the entire necklace is on protecting the wearer from evil forces.
85. This necklace from South Italy is of later date and more ornate than that of plate 84. The central slightly oval *bulla* is set with a central onyx carved, I suggest, to imitate the human eye. It therefore functions doubly as an amulet against the evil eye: firstly, the shape offers the protection of a *bulla*; secondly, the carved 'eye' protects against the evil eye (cf. plate 92). The other *bullae* are decorated with Gorgon heads, another apotropaic motif.
86. A Roman *bulla* of typical size (circa 6 cm in diameter). Found in Pompeii, this *bulla* was in use in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

87. This necklace from the eastern Mediterranean is strung with glass moulded as cowrie shells in patterns and colours imitating onyx as well as blue, yellow, green, and grey-white. Cowrie shells were famous for resembling the female sex and were therefore a potent amulet to avert the evil eye. They were, naturally, especially suitable for girls and women. Although current research believes the *bulla* to have been worn exclusively by boys, the miniature size (less than 2 cm in diameter) of this *bulla* and the female context of the cowrie shells as well as ear pendants is positive evidence for girls wearing the *bulla*. This is, of course, assuming that the assembly is original. Rudolph's thorough discussion, however, gives no indication that this might not be the case. Although attractive and colourful, the necklace is entirely conceived as a series of amulets, confirming the increasing belief in and fear of the evil eye.
88. This blue glass necklace is strung with one pendant featuring an eye (again, to protect from the *malocchio*), one pendant modelled as an amphora, probably a good-luck charm, and a third pendant formed as a grotesque head of a bearded man with yellow eyes. The last also serves as an amulet: its grotesque features were meant to instil horror or to provoke laughter and therefore break the spell of the demon.
89. The Hellenistic *lunula* has elaborate details and is decorated with three cabochon garnets. The design contrasts greatly with the plain design of the Roman *lunula* (plate 90), which shows the extent of the decline in workmanship.
90. The Roman version of the *lunula* is plain and crude compared to its Hellenistic predecessor (plate 89). It is, however, a continuation of the *lunula* as a motif of protection.
91. This finely worked long gold chain with a *lunula* and two wheels was probably worn as a hip belt. The three amulets are decorative compared to the plain wire chains. Even though the quality of workmanship is high, this piece showcases

how plain jewellery has become in comparison to the elaborate figurative work of Etruria and Classical and Hellenistic Greece.

92. This Late Roman ring has a bezel in the shape of a human eye, the centre of which is set with a carved onyx imitating the iris and the white of a real (human) eye (cf. plate 85). It is another variety of the various amulets to protect against the omnipresent evil eye generated by jealousy.
93. The famous *Gemma Augustea* depicts Augustus posing and dressed as Jupiter, holding a sceptre and augur staff. On his right is Roma, the patroness of the city. Between their heads is a capricorn, the personal constellation of Augustus. To the left of the throne are allegorical figures: Oecumene (the inhabited Earth), Oceanus (the rivers of the world), and Italia with *cornucopia* and two boys. Next to Roma stands Augustus great nephew, Germanicus, as well as his stepson and successor to the throne, Tiberius, who is shown descending from a war chariot driven by Victoria. The lower scene shows the erection of a victory monument. Surrounding it are Roman soldiers and the defeated barbarians. The whole scene depicts the victory of the Romans over the Dalmatians. On 6 January 10 AD, Tiberius, the supreme military commander of the Roman troops, entered Rome. As victor he stands before his Emperor. The cameo was first documented in 1246 as part of an inventory of the Cloister Saint Sernin in Toulouse. At the beginning of the 17th century, it came into possession of the Habsburg family through a purchase made by Rudolph II.
94. Unfortunately, the origin or further details of these rings are not known but they are a good example of how coins and medallions are employed in rings – following Higgins' interpretation that these were military distinctions.<sup>383</sup>
95. Dated to late antiquity (the *opus interrasile* is almost already of Byzantine quality), the gold double-solidus of 321 AD is set within an *opus interrasile* surround with six applied portraits in the round. The lower left bust portrays the Latin chief Atys, the son of Alba and father of Capys, from whom the Latin

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<sup>383</sup> Cf. n. 285.

*gens Atia* derived its origin and from whom Augustus was believed to be descended on his mother's side. The identity of the other bust is not yet established. It is assumed, however, that they are probably also mythological figures.<sup>384</sup>

96. A splendid example of a *torques*, the Snettisham torc is wrought of eight strands of electrum (a natural gold and silver alloy) wrought together, each strand in turn made of eight twisted wires. The appearance of such a torc reminds of a knotted rope, which, according to the present state of research, might have functioned as some sort of amulet.
97. Pearls were most coveted at Rome. In this small diadem they are given central importance: although the jewel must have been very costly because of the sizeable pearls the actual goldwork is fairly crude and consists largely of cut gold sheet. Although the wave motif is quite common, it may here be an evocative allusion to the marine environment of the pearls as well as to Aphrodite, who, like the pearl, emerged from the sea and to whom the pearl was dedicated.
98. This diamond ring dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD is one of the earliest diamond jewels. It is set with a brown diamond crystal – due to its exceptional hardness, diamond was extremely difficult to fashion and therefore natural crystals were the best way to display such a stone. Their degree of popularity is documented in plate 99, showing a rock crystal cut to imitate the natural crystal shape of diamond.
99. This Roman ring is set with a rock crystal cut to imitate the natural shape of certain diamond crystal. It therefore shows how coveted diamonds were.
100. This necklace of loosely linked gold wirework is a good example of a Roman jewel: set with highly iridescent pearls (probably blister pearls) and emerald crystals it features the two gems most sought-after in Rome. Its convex clasp is

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<sup>384</sup> Leonhard Schmitz, 'Atys' in *Dictionary*, vol.1, 417f.

a remnant of the globular design of Late Etruscan jewellery. Finally, even though this necklace must have cost a fortune at the time, its fairly loosely worked gold chain is yet another indication of the decline of the quality in goldwork and the increasing importance of showing off the costly materials.

101. This mummy portrait of a girl shows the deceased wearing a magnificent two-strand pearl necklace: the apparent quality of the pearls, their size, even shape, and well matched graduation make this necklace an extremely valuable piece of jewellery, which was certainly very rare at the time – even nowadays one would struggle to find a pearl necklace of similar quality.
102. The mummy portrait depicts a woman wearing pearl ear pendants and a short necklace composed of a series of emerald crystals.

### **III. Iconography Reconsidered: A Summary of New Interpretations**

According to as yet unchallenged scholarship, the Greeks did not know such a thing as a betrothal ring. However, as has been argued, the ring said to be from Beirut (plates 5 and 26), decoratively engraved with a dove on the bezel (its convex surface makes it impractical to use as a seal) and an Eros to the reverse of the bezel as well the ring said to be from Kephallenia (plate 27) are a strong arguments in favour of Greek betrothal rings. This is supported by the fact that neither ring was intended as a seal, and, of course most obviously, by their subject matters: one with the dove as a token of love, and a kneeling Eros at the back (one is almost tempted to think of a knightly gesture of submission to the loved one), the other with a flying Eros carrying what is most likely a bridal wreath and spelling the Greek 'joy'. Therefore, betrothal rings existed in Greece as far back as the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, the time the Beirut ring is dated.

Revised identities can be assigned to a certain type of tassel pendants (plates 22–23), representing whole pomegranates with tassels of pomegranate seeds. Regarding the iconography of pomegranates themselves, it is important to consider their connections to Aphrodite at least as much as that to Persephone. In connection with the former, and considering that the offering and accepting of fruit symbolises sexual union, pomegranates take on a sexual meaning with an emphasis on their fertility. (The ear pendants of plate one may be interpreted as the offering of the apple meaning a forthcoming union and/or marriage.) In connection to Persephone, they are a symbol of rebirth (as well as fertility).

It becomes apparent that almost every motif is to some extent related to a deity (unless it represents a self-contained being such as a sphinx or a siren). With the discovery that Dionysus is related to fennel, the identity of certain fairly common pendants (as in plate 60) suggested by Williams and Ogden to be fennel, can be confirmed.

More Dionysian imagery can be assigned to the diadem of plate 22 with its masks, heart-shaped ivy leaves and large, grape-like garnet cabochons. Similarly so, the

necklace of plate 54 showcasing two lynx heads, a heart-shaped ivy clasp and large, grape-like garnet cabochon.

Another type of pendants (plate 59) can be identified as pinecones (thereby coming within the imagery of Dionysus) and amphorae, confirming Dionysian imagery as amphorae have strong connotations with wine.

Having considered the universal belief in the powers of the evil eye and suitable amulets and motifs in jewellery to protect oneself from such malicious influences, the Etruscan *bulla* (plate 85) is doubly protective when set with a gem imitating an eye. This is confirmed by comparing the carving with the Roman version (plate 92), where the onyx obviously represents a human eye. The Etruscan *bulla* is an early predecessor of the Roman eye ring.

Positive evidence for the argument that not only boys but also girls wore the *bulla* as an amulet was found in a necklace strung with cowrie shells and a small *bulla* (plate 87). Mau's earlier theory could therefore be confirmed contrary to current scholarship.

Rose wreaths (plate 19), but myrtle wreaths in particular (plates 15, 16 and 18) were traditionally bridal wreaths and those found in the graves of a woman may well have been their actual bridal wreaths. Similarly, because of the strong connection to Aphrodite (in antiquity more so than the rose), the identity of myrtle can be assigned to wreaths and spray commonly seen in the arts and in jewellery, for example plates 2, 3 and 27. It was argued that the wreath of plate 27, in particular represents a bridal wreath.



## Conclusion

Ancient jewellery is so rich in iconography and many-layered in symbolism that it is difficult to fathom for anyone but those brought up with ancient religion, mythology and folklore.

It appears that while Greek jewellery is characterised by an acute immediacy to woman and womanhood in that its various motifs can all be traced back to a deity of relevance to women, Roman jewellery tends to be concerned with status and intrinsic value, or with amuletic functions. Of course, the erotic aspect, the wearing of jewellery for the purposes of attracting the other sex must be remembered as well. As is the case with ancient religion, so is it with criticism of the arts: there is never only one side to it.

A common denominator may be that of material – even if for different reason: in Greece and Etruria, gold is prevalent probably due to a combination of factors such as value, beauty, workability and to a lesser extent, the connotation to the sun and its ascribed protective powers, whereas in Rome exotic, expensive, rare materials are appreciated for more or less economic and social reasons. We can see here a development to the modern concept of jewellery, when it becomes more and more decorative and status-concerned.

In view of the various periods of historicism, it is very important to realise that the omnipresent religiosity of Graeco-Etruscan jewellery was natural and not a religious (or even, as it is and used to be, an intellectual) exercise. According to Herbert Hoffmann,

Never, not even in its latest phase, does Greek jewelry [*sic*] become pure ornament devoid of content; never is its religious meaning lost. This does not mean to say that when a Greek girl donned her 'Eros' earrings or 'Aphrodite' pin she necessarily gave much thought to those divinities: religion was an element so closely interwoven into the fabric of her every-day existence that it left no aspect of her life untouched.<sup>385</sup>

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<sup>385</sup> Hoffmann and Davidson, *Greek Gold*, 13.

Of course, this is neither to say that the iconography could not be subtly played with on purpose, nor that details and choices of imagery were any less significant. On the contrary, in Hellenistic jewellery, for example, the use of gemstones, above all the garnet, added yet another sphere to the imagery: for example, 'the pomegranate seeds made from red garnet and commonly used as a form of jewelry [*sic*] pendant are actually a play on words: 'garnet' and 'pomegranate' are the same in Greek.'<sup>386</sup>

Ancient jewellery was brimming with symbolism, be it regarding its motifs or colours or the materials used, and as with every piece of art, there is vastly more to interpret than was perhaps intended. Nevertheless, it is important to be aware of what could be. Now that an insight into the numerous possibilities of interpretations has been made available – by no means complete – it is hoped that others will dig deeper and bring to light new finds on the topic.

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<sup>386</sup> *Idem*, 12. Hoffmann is, however, mistaken in that it is the Latin *granatum* ('pomegranate'), not the Greek, which is related to the French *pomme grenade* ('pomegranate') and its derivative *le grenat* ('garnet') and the German 'Granatapfel' ('pomegranate') and 'Granat' ('garnet') as well as the English 'garnet' itself.

**Illustrations 1 to 102 have been removed  
due to copyright restrictions.**

For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

d'Ambrosio:	d'Ambrosio, A., <i>Women and Beauty in Pompeii</i>
Black:	Black, J. A., <i>A History of Jewels</i>
BMCJ:	Marshall, F.H., <i>Catalogue of the Jewellery (British Museum)</i>
Borg:	Borg, B., "Der zierlichste Anblick der Welt..." <i>Ägyptische Porträtmumien</i>
GG:	Williams, D., Ogden, J., <i>Greek Gold</i>
GSG:	<i>Das Gold der Skythen und Griechen</i> (exh. cat.)
Higgins:	Higgins, R.A., <i>Greek and Roman Jewellery</i>
Juliis:	Juliis, E. de (ed.), <i>Gli Ori di Taranto in Età Ellenistica</i>
MG:	<i>Medeas Gold: Neue Funde aus Georgien</i> (exh. cat.)
Ogden:	Ogden, J., <i>Jewellery of the Ancient World</i>
Oliver:	Oliver, A., 'Aspects of Hellenistic Jewellery from Italy'
Pedley:	Pedley, J.G., <i>Greek Art and Archaeology</i>
Platz-Horster:	Platz-Horster, G., <i>Ancient Gold Jewellery</i>
Pozzi:	Pozzi, E., <i>Le Collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Napoli</i>
Rudolph:	Rudolph, W., <i>A Golden Legacy</i>
Schadt:	Schadt, H., <i>Goldsmiths' Art: 5000 Years of Jewelry and Hollowware</i>
SP:	<i>Schmuckmuseum Pforzheim: Museumsführer</i>
Tait:	Tait, H.(ed.), <i>7000 Years of Jeweller</i>
Triossi and Mascetti:	
	Triossi, A., Mascetti, D., <i>The Necklace from Antiquity to the Present</i>
Vickers:	Vickers, M., <i>Scythian and Thracian Antiquities in Oxford</i>

For full bibliographical reference please refer to the bibliography.

Please note that the works referred to below are not necessarily the original source of the illustrations in the full version of this thesis.

**1. Earring with Aphrodite offering apples**

From Corinth

470-460 BC

5.9 cm long

Altes Museum, Berlin; GI 149 = Misc. 8520

illustrated in Platz-Horster, p. 53

**2. Ring with Aphrodite and Eros**

Origin unknown

circa 350 BC

Bezel 2.1 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1865.7-12.59

illustrated in GG, p. 221

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For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**3. Ring with Aphrodite and Eros**

From the Great Bliznitsa, Crimea

350-300 BC

2.3 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; BB 40

illustrated in GG, p. 194

**4. Necklace with doves**

From Varni (Western Georgia), tomb N6

4th century BC

26.0 cm long

Georgian National Museum, Tiflis; N11-974:56

illustrated in MG, pp.42-43

**5. 'Betrothal' ring with dove (and Eros)**

Said to be from Beirut

400-350 BC

Bezel 2.0 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1917.5-1.350; Sir A.W. Franks Bequest, 1897

illustrated in GG, p. 252

**6. Ear pendant with dove and rosette**

Said to be from Cyprus

330-300 BC

5.1 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1906.4-11.2

illustrated in GG, p. 241

**7. Ear pendant with dove and pomegranates**

From the Artjuhov kurgan, Crimea

2nd century BC

6.5 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; no reference found

illustrated in Higgins, plate 48B

**8. Ear pendant with swan and rose**

From Taranto

circa 100 BC

3.1 cm long

National Archaeological Museum, Taranto; 50.635 B

illustrated in Juliis, 169

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For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**9. Ear pendant with white hen**

From Taranto

2nd century BC

2.9 cm long

National Archaeological Museum, Taranto; 40.184

illustrated in Juliis, p. 168

**10. Dolphin earring**

Origin unknown

(probably Ptolemaic Egypt or Cyprus)

250-150 BC

2.1 cm diameter

Altes Museum, Berlin; Inv. 30219,315; F.L. von Gans Bequest, 1912

illustrated in Platz-Horster, p. 78

**11. Ram's head pendant**

Said to be from Cyprus

450-400 BC

1.8 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1895.10-25.1

illustrated in GG, p. 248

**12. Ram bangle**

From the Great Bliznitza, Crimea

350-300 BC

6.9 cm wide

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; BB 194 & BB 195

illustrated in GG, p. 183

**13. Tortoise (turtle) necklace**

From Varni (Western Georgia)

5th century BC

33.0 cm long

Georgian National Museum, Tiflis; N10-975:56

illustrated in MG, pp. 112-113

**14. Myrtle bud fringe necklace**

Said to be from Akarnania

450-400 BC

27.0 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1919.6-21.2

illustrated in GG, p. 54

**Illustrations 1 to 102 have been removed  
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For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**15. Myrtle spray**

Said to be from near the Piraeus

400-350 BC

9.0 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1960.11-1.48

illustrated in GG, p. 59

**16. Myrtle wreath**

South Italy

170-150 BC

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection

illustrated in Oliver, colour plate 11

**17. Myrtle pendent necklace**

Said to be from Kyme

330-300 BC

50.0 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1876.6-17.3

illustrated in GG, p. 101

**18. Etruscan myrtle wreath**

Origin unknown

circa 4th century BC (Etruria)

27.9 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1841.3-1.13 Campani Collection

illustrated in Tait, p. 63

**19. Rose wreath**

From Bari

circa 250 BC

31.0 cm long

National Archaeological Museum, Taranto; 6.469

illustrated in Juliis, p. 97

**20. Pomegranate necklace**

From Eretria on Euboea

525-500 BC

27.0 cm long

Altes Museum, Berlin; GI 11 = Misc.8399

illustrated in Platz-Horster, p. 25

**Illustrations 1 to 102 have been removed  
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For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**21. Pomegranate pendent necklace**

Said to be from Kyme

330-300 BC

34.5 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1877.9-10.9

illustrated in GG, pp. 102-103

**22. Pomegranate and 'Dionysian' diadem**

From Abdera in Thrace

200-150 BC

56.0 cm long

Altes Museum, Berlin; Inv. 30219,371

illustrated in Platz-Horster, pp. 72-73

**23. Pomegranate tassel pin**

From the Artjuhov kurgan, Crimea

circa 150 BC

7.7 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Art. 7

illustrated in GSG, p. 206

**24. Ear pendant with Eros riding a dolphin**

Origin unknown

225-150 BC

1.95 cm long

Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington (Indiana); 70.105.15B-C

illustrated in Rudolph, p. 142

**25. Ring with Eros playing iynx**

From Naukratis, cemetery area

circa 300 BC

Bezel 1.8 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1888.6-1.1; presented by the Committee of the Egypt

Exploration Fund, 1888

illustrated in GG, p. 253

**26. 'Betrothal' ring with Eros (and dove)**

Said to be from Beirut

400-350 BC

Bezel 2.0 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1917.5-1.350; Sir A.W. Franks Bequest, 1897

illustrated in GG, p. 252

**Illustrations 1 to 102 have been removed  
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For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**27. 'Betrothal' ring with Eros offering wreath**

Said to be from Kephallenia

330-300 BC

Bezel 1.2 cm wide

British Museum, London; GR 1867.5-8.414

illustrated in GG, p. 73

**28. Fragments of a diadem with Erotes**

From Marion on Cyprus, tomb 67

350-300 BC

Centre 7.2 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1891.8-6.88-92

illustrated in GG, p. 236

**29. Necklace with gazelle's head clasp**

From Altamura, Bari

120-80 BC

Heads 2.5 cm long

National Archaeological Museum, Taranto; 40.106

illustrated in Juliis, p. 224

**30. Bangle with rearing lionesses**

From the Great Bliznitsa, Crimea

330-300 BC

7.3 cm wide

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; BB 35 & 36

illustrated in GG, p. 192

**31. Etruscan lion head pendants**

Acquired from Campanari in 1843

550-500 BC

2.0 cm long

Altes Museum, Berlin; GI 416/417 = Misc. 1843 S. 83148/149

illustrated in Platz-Horster, p. 30

**32. Butterfly-pendant necklace**

From Chersonesos, Crimea

circa 100 BC

30.0 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Ch.1896.18

illustrated in GSG, p. 213



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For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**33. Roman butterfly-pendant necklace**

From Rome

1st century AD

31.5 cm long (pendant 3.5 cm long)

British Museum, London; GR 72.6-4.670; Castellani Collection

illustrated in Tait, p. 87

**34. Ear pendant with Nike tying her sandal**

From Kul Oba, Crimea

circa 350 BC

9.0 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; KO 7

illustrated in GG, pp. 148-149

**35. Ear pendant with Nike presenting a fillet**

From the Pavlovsky kurgan, Crimea

circa 350 BC

4.8 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Pav.3

illustrated in GG, p. 170

**36. Ear pendants with Nike playing astragals**

Said to be from a grave on Kalymnos

330-300 BC

5.7 cm long

Altes Museum, Berlin; Misc. 10823a & b

illustrated in Platz-Horster, pp. 63-64

**37. Hellenistic wreath**

From Serra d'Oro (near Armento)

3rd century BC

37.0 cm high, 19.0 cm diameter

Antikensammlung, Munich

illustrated in Schadt, p. 31

**38. Ring with Artemis**

Origin unknown

450-425 BC

Bezel 1.8 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1914.10-17.2

illustrated in GG, p. 52

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For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**39. Ring with Artemis riding a stag**

From Nymphaion, Crimea

350-300 BC

4.5 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; GK/N.2

illustrated in GG, p. 173

**40. Stag pin**

From Pantikapaion, Crimea

350-300 BC

Head 2.5 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; P.1851.2

illustrated in GG, p. 174

**41. Hawk brooch**

Said to be from a grave in Ephesus

650-600 BC

6.0 cm wide

Altes Museum, Berlin; Inv. 1963.6

illustrated in Platz-Horster, p. 23

**42. Persephone plaque**

From the Great Bliznitza, Crimea

350-300 BC

5.8 cm long/wide

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; BB 45

illustrated in GG, p. 194

**43. Demeter plaque**

From the Great Bliznitza, Crimea

350-300 BC

5.8 cm long/wide

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; BB 46

illustrated in GG, p. 194

**44. Asphodel pendent necklace**

From Asia Minor (perhaps from Mytilene)

330-300 BC

33.5 cm long

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 99.25; purchase 1899

illustrated in GG, p. 119

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For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**45. Pendant with portrait of Athena**

From Kul Oba, Crimea

375-350 BC

18.0 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; KO 5

illustrated in GG, p. 145

**46. Ring with Athena holding a Nike**

From Chersonesos, Crimea

325-300 BC

2.3 cm diameter

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Ch.1899.9

illustrated in GG, p. 198

**47. Serpent armlet**

Origin unknown

circa 350 BC

11.5 cm long

Schmuckmuseum, Pforzheim

illustrated in SP, p. 22

**48. Olive wreath**

From the Kekuvatzky kurgan, Crimea

circa 350 BC

17.5 cm diameter

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Kek. 1

illustrated in GG, p. 165

**49. Diadem with Dionysus and Ariadne**

From Madytos

330-300 BC

Centre 5.9 cm high

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 06.1217.1; Rogers Fund, 1906

illustrated in GG, p. 109

**50. Hair ornament with maenad**

Said to be from Egypt

200-150 BC

9.0 cm diameter

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 987.220; gift of Norbert Schimmel, 1987

illustrated in GG, p. 254

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For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**51. Etruscan ring with dancing maenad**

Formerly in the Ralph Harari collection

400-350 BC (Etruscan)

Bezel 2.1 cm long

Altes Museum, Berlin; Inv. 1990.7

illustrated in Platz-Horster, p. 40

**52. Etruscan fringe necklace: silens/satyrs**

From Ruvo

circa 500 BC

32.0 cm long

National Museum, Naples

illustrated in Schadt, p. 22

**53. Bull's head pendant**

From Pantikapaion, Crimea

375-350 BC

2.0 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; P.1845.7

illustrated in GG, p. 160

**54. Lynx necklace with ivy clasp**

From the Artjuchoy kurgan, Crimea

150-125 BC

45.0 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Art.6

illustrated in GSG, p. 205

**55. Goat bangle**

Eastern Mediterranean (Achaemenid-Persian)

circa 400 BC

7.1 cm wide

Altes Museum, Berlin; Inv. 1978.1

illustrated in Platz-Horster, p. 52

**56. Etruscan ivy wreath**

Origin unknown

3rd century BC

29.4 cm long

British Museum, London

illustrated in BMCJ, no. 2294

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For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**57. Ivy wreath**

From Taranto

200-175 BC

31.5 cm long

National Archaeological Museum, Taranto; 50.625

illustrated in Juliis, p. 93

**58. Ear pendant with vine leaf and grapes**

From Ori, Canosa (Bari)

circa 300 BC

2.6 cm long

National Archaeological Museum, Taranto; 33.423

illustrated in Juliis, p. 187

**59. Pine cone fringe necklace**

From the Great Bliznitsa, Crimea

330-300 BC

37.8 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; BB 34

illustrated in GG, pp. 188-189

**60. Achelous head and fennel seed necklace**

From Pantikapaion, Crimea

400-380 BC

26.5 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; P.1854.22

illustrated in GG, p. 153-155

**61. Sphinx bangle**

From Kul Oba, Crimea

400-350 BC

10.0 cm wide

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; KO 19

illustrated in GG, p. 141

**62. Sphinx pendant**

From Kourian (said to be from a 'vault')

circa 450 BC

2.9 cm long

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 74.51.3382; the Cesnola Collection,  
purchased by subscription, 1874-6

illustrated in GG, p. 247

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For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**63. Ear pendant with siren playing a kithara**

Origin unknown

330-300 BC

4.4 cm long

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 08.258.49; Rogers Fund, 1908

illustrated in GG, p. 66

**64. Ear pendant with siren and scallop shells**

Said to be from a tomb at Eretria on Euboea

420-400 BC

5.6 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1893.11-3.1

illustrated in GG, p. 57

**65. Armlet with the rape of Thetis**

From Kul Oba, Crimea

475-450 BC

10.3 cm diameter

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; KO 18

illustrated in GG, p. 140

**66. Ear pendant with the rape of Ganymede**

Said to be from near Thessaloniki

330-300 BC

6.0 cm long

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 37. 11.9-10; Harris Brisbane Dick Fund

illustrated in GG, p. 76

**67. Ring with Penelope**

From Pantikapaion, Crimea

circa 450 BC

Bezel 2.0 cm long

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; P.1854.25

illustrated in GG, p. 158

**68. Ring with Cassandra**

Said to be from Greece

400-380 BC

Bezel 2.0 cm long

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; 53.11.2; Rogers Fund, 1953

illustrated in GG, p. 63

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For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**69. Amphora pendant**

Said to be from Melos

500-450 BC

2.0 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1842.7-28.107

illustrated in GG, p. 51

**70. Pair of amphora ear pendants**

From Taranto

150-100 BC

3.0 cm long

National Archaeological Museum, Taranto; 22.408 & 22.409

illustrated in Juliis, p. 167

**71. One of a pair of amphora ear pendants**

From Taranto

2nd century BC

Archaeological Museum, Bari; 1662bis

illustrated in Juliis, p. 166

**72. Pair of kalyx ear pendants**

From Bari

150-100 BC

5.0 cm long

National Archaeological Museum, Taranto; 22.411 & 22.412

illustrated in Juliis, p. 167

**73. Amphora ear pendant**

From Kalymnos

2nd or 1st century BC

6.2 cm long

British Museum, London

illustrated in Higgins, plate 48C

**74. Astragal ring**

From Taranto

circa 200 BC

1.6 cm diameter

National Archaeological Museum, Taranto; 117.629

illustrated in Juliis, p. 282

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For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**75. Acorn fringe necklace**

From Nymphaion, Crimea

5th century BC

31.0 cm long

Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; AN 1885.482

illustrated in Vickers, p. 37

**76. Oak wreath**

From the tomb of Philip, Vergina

(possibly Philip III Arrhidaios and not Philip II)

340-310 BC

17.0 cm diameter

Archaeological Museum, Thessaloniki

illustrated in Pedley, p. 330

**77. Beech nut fringe necklace**

From the Pavlovsky kurgan, Crimea

340/330 BC

33.5 cm long (2.0 cm wide)

Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Pav.2

illustrated in GG, pp. 168-169

**78. Laurel wreath**

From Taranto

circa 150 BC

31.8 cm long

National Archaeological Museum, Taranto; 54.461

illustrated in Juliis, p. 88

**79. Herakles knot ring**

Said to be from Alexandria

circa 300 BC

Bezel 1.3 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1917.5-1.913; Sir A.W. Franks Bequest, 1897

illustrated in GG, p. 253

**80. Herakles knot diadem**

Said to be from Melos

300-280 BC

27.9 cm long

British Museum, London; GR1872.6-4.815

illustrated in GG, pp.64-65



**Illustrations 1 to 102 have been removed  
due to copyright restrictions.**

For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**81. Etruscan Achelous pendant**

Origin unknown (Etruria),  
formerly in the Campana Collection  
430-400 BC  
4.0 cm long  
Louvre, Paris; BJ 498  
illustrated in Schadt, p. 21

**82. Etruscan necklace with Achelous & sirens**

From Maremma, Tuscany  
circa 500 BC  
27.6 cm long  
British Museum, London  
illustrated in Tait, p. 82

**83. Ring with cornucopia**

From Taranto  
200-150 BC  
Bezel 1.3 cm long  
National Archaeological Museum, Taranto; 6.48  
illustrated in Juliis, p. 293

**84. Etruscan necklace with various *bullae***

From Tarquinii  
4th century BC  
Circular *bullae* 3.5 cm diameter  
British Museum, London  
Castellani Collection 1872  
Illustrated in Higgins, plate 44

**85. Etruscan *bullae***

From Todi  
330-300 BC  
De Agostini Geographic Institute, Novara  
illustrated in Triossi and Mascetti, p. 34

**86. Roman *bulla***

From Pompeii, Casa del Menandro  
prior to 79 AD  
6.5 cm long  
National Museum, Naples  
illustrated in Pozzi, p. 214

**Illustrations 1 to 102 have been removed  
due to copyright restrictions.**

For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**87. Roman necklace with *bulla* and cowries**

Eastern Mediterranean

2nd century AD

37.0 cm long, *bulla* 2.1 cm long

Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington (Indiana); 70.46.3.A

illustrated in Rudolph, p. 233

**88. Roman necklace with amulets**

Eastern Mediterranean: Levant or Egypt (?)

3rd to 4th centuries AD

39.2 cm long

Indiana University Art Museum, Bloomington (Indiana); 65.55.14.A

illustrated in Rudolph, p. 235

**89. Hellenistic *lunula* pendant**

Origin unknown

2nd century BC

approx. 3.5 cm wide

British Museum, London; GR 1914.10-16.1

illustrated in Tait, p. 85

**90. Roman *lunula* pendant**

Origin unknown

1st to 2nd century AD

43.9 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 1917.6-1.2719

illustrated in Walker, p. 150

**91. Roman *lunula* and wheel**

From Pompeii, Casa del Fauno

prior to 79 AD

252.0 cm long

National Museum, Naples

illustrated in Pozzi, p. 214

**92. Roman ring against the Evil Eye**

Said to be from Tarvis in Illyria

3rd century AD

Bezel 4.0 cm long

British Museum, London; GR 802F; Sir A.W. Franks Bequest, 1897

illustrated in Tait, p. 227

**Illustrations 1 to 102 have been removed  
due to copyright restrictions.**

For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**93. The Gemma Augustea**

Origin unknown

After 10 AD

19.0 cm long

Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; AS Inv. No. IX A 79

illustrated in Schadt, p. 34

**94. Two Roman rings with set coins**

Origin unknown (?)

2nd - 3rd century AD

British Museum, London

illustrated in Black, p. 85

**95. Roman/Early Byzantine coin pendant**

Origin unknown

circa 350 AD,

the central double-solidus coin dated 321 AD

9.2 cm diameter

British Museum, London; MLA 1984.5-1.1

illustrated in Tait, p. 99

**96. Celtic torques**

'The Great Torc'

From Snettisham, Norfolk

1st century BC

19.5 cm diameter

British Museum, London; PRB 1951.4-2.2

illustrated in Tait, p. 79

**97. Roman pearl diadem**

From Pompeii, Villa Imperiale

prior to 79 AD

7.7 cm long, 3.3 cm high

National Archaeological Museum, Naples; Inv. P 7654

illustrated in d'Ambrosio, p. 50

**98. Roman (brown) diamond ring**

Eastern Roman Empire, Syria (?)

circa 3rd century AD

Private Collection

illustrated in Ogden, plate 29

**Illustrations 1 to 102 have been removed  
due to copyright restrictions.**

For a list of publications referred to in the captions see page 91.

**99. Roman rock crystal (?) ring**

Eastern Roman Empire  
circa 3rd century AD  
Private Collection  
illustrated in Ogden, plate 26

**100. Roman pearl and emerald necklace**

From Pompeii  
prior to 79 AD  
34.5 cm long  
National Archaeological Museum, Naples; Inv. 113576  
illustrated in Schadt, p. 39

**101. Roman Egyptian mummy portrait of a young girl**

3rd century AD  
Akademisches Museum, Bonn; Inv. D804  
illustrated in Borg, p. 92

**102. Roman Egyptian mummy portrait of a woman**

mid-2nd century AD  
Egyptian Museum, Cairo; Inv. 33243  
illustrated in Borg, p. 46

## **REPLACEMENT PAGE**

**replacing pages 109 to 119**

**Please note that due to copyright restrictions the illustrations were removed and replaced with a detailed list of illustrations including the original captions (preceding this page).**

**Pages 109 to 119 are therefore obsolete and have been removed from this version in order to void unnecessary blank pages.**

**The page layout will continue with the Appendix (page 120).**

## Appendix:

### A Quick Reference List to the Gods and Their Attributes

This list is not comprehensive, but intended as a quick reference to the gods and their main attributes.

<b>Aphrodite</b>	Dove Swan White hen Dolphin Ram Tortoise (Stag) Myrtle Rose Pomegranate Apple Shell Pearl	<b>Persephone</b>	Asphodel Pomegranate
		<b>Demeter</b>	Corn ear Poppy
		<b>Athena</b>	Owl Serpent Cockerel Olive
		<b>Dionysus</b>	Maenad Silen Satyr Bull Goat Panther Lynx Serpent Dolphin Ivy Grapes/Vine Fennel Pinecone (Asphodel)
<b>Eros</b>	Cockerel Ram Gazelle Goat Lion Rose Lynx Butterfly/Psyche		
<b>Nike</b>	Wings		
<b>Artemis</b>	Stag/Deer Bee Hawk Fir tree Laurel		

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Reference works as well as major texts dealing with (ancient) jewellery across all three civilisations are listed in the general section. All other works are divided into primary or secondary sources and exhibition catalogues. Regarding the latter, only those works without apparent editor or author are listed separately, for example Dyfri Williams and Jack Ogden's important catalogue *Greek Gold* will be found under secondary sources.

All primary sources are published as part of the Loeb Classical Library series unless otherwise stated.

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